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TO  
THE REV. WILLIAM L. BOWLES,

*THIS VOLUME*

IS INSCRIBED,

AS A MARK OF RESPECT FOR HIS CHARACTER,

BOTH AS A SCHOLAR AND A GENTLEMAN,

BY

THE EDITOR.





## PREFACE.

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IN presenting to the public the sixth volume of the "Annual Biography and Obituary," some apology is necessary on the part of the Editor for the omission of the "Analysis of recent Biographical Works," and the "Neglected Biography."

The life of Napoleon Buonaparte has very materially exceeded the limits which have been prescribed by precedent in the foregoing volumes, for the necrology of celebrated persons. But the impossibility of doing justice to so extraordinary a character, in a narrower compass, must be sufficiently obvious to all who reflect on the immense variety of incidents which such a biography must necessarily comprise.

In the compilation of the memoirs of Buonaparte, a multiplicity of published works, and some private documents, have been consulted; and among other illustrations of his splendid, but guilty, career, will be found a brief summary of the origin and progress of the French Revolution; and an account of the state of parties and public feeling in France after the period of his first abdication.

If, in the detail of events in which the British arms were conspicuous, more attention has been paid to the movements of the French and their commander, than to those of the English armies, it will doubtless be remembered in excuse, that we are discussing the biography of Buonaparte, and not that of the Duke of Wellington.

The length of this article will, perhaps, account for the non-appearance of the two heads already referred to. The "Neglected Biography" will, however, be continued in the seventh volume.

A biography of the late Mr. Hargrave, King's Counsellor and Recorder for Liverpool, illustrated by many highly important original documents, and unpublished letters of Messrs. Sheridan, Grattan, Curran, Whitbread, Judge Buller, and the late Lords Camden, Thurlow, Petre, Kenyon, Mansfield, Loughborough, and other distinguished characters, will be given in our next.

Several memoirs, and, among others, those of Sir John Macpherson, (including original letters of Warren Hastings and the Archduke Charles,) Mr. John Scott, Mr. Keats, Admiral Hunter, Mr. Perry, late proprietor of the Morning Chronicle, and Mrs. John Hunter, have been prepared, but are also unavoidably delayed.

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THE  
ANNUAL  
BIOGRAPHY AND OBITUARY,  
OF  
1821.

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*MEMOIRS OF CELEBRATED MEN, WHO HAVE  
DIED WITHIN THE YEARS 1820-1821.*

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No. I.

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

**H**ISTORY is the grouping of figures in a picture; the humbler province of biography is the delineation of the whole-length resemblance of a particular individual. But it sometimes happens that the memoirs of an illustrious public character are so complicated with general history, as to render them an epitome of the principal events of the times in which he flourished. This observation will be found to apply with peculiar force to the life and achievements of Napoleon Buonaparte; whose biography, properly discussed, must lose its individuality, and become, to a certain extent, the annals, not merely of the country which was the theatre of his own exploits, but of all the states, and of all the leading characters concerned in their government and administration, civil or military, in any way connected with it.

Napoleon Buonaparte (or, as he has himself chosen to write the name, Bonaparte,) was born at Ajaccio, a small town in Corsica, on August 15th, 1769. He was the eldest son of Carlo Buonaparte, a lawyer, of Italian extraction, and Letitia



Raniolini. The celebrated Corsican general, Paoli, was his godfather.

The family of Buonaparte was respectable and ancient, although it had never been ennobled. His mother was more celebrated for her beauty than, it is currently believed, for her chastity; and it is affirmed, that Napoleon was in fact the son of the Count Marboëuf, the French governor of Corsica. However this may have been, it is most certain that the Count was the staunch and persevering friend of the young Napoleon. Through his powerful interest our hero was introduced to the Royal Military School of Brienne, in Champagne, in the year 1779, being then only ten years of age. It is a fact, to which the annals of Europe in the seventeenth and a portion of the eighteenth centuries afford a melancholy but ample illustration, that France has generally been distinguished, above all other nations, by the consummate talents and profound tactical knowledge of her generals. Much of this dangerous supremacy was doubtless to be ascribed to the warlike character of the people, and the universal predilection of the ancient nobility for the study of the military art; but much is likewise to be attributed to the institutions, admirable in their kind, by which this martial spirit was fostered and directed by the government. Although, from the death of the great Marshal Saxe, to the commencement of the French revolution, France produced no illustrious commander except Marshal Belleisle; yet Louis the Fifteenth, and his successor, Louis the Sixteenth, bestowed an extraordinary degree of attention upon the internal economy and discipline of the military schools; of which there were in France, in the year 1779, as many as thirteen.

Little is known, and if known, nothing would be worth recording of Buonaparte until his arrival at Brienne. Schools are moral satellites, inferior worlds, exhibiting in miniature the same phases, and obscured by the same passions as the presiding planet. It is not therefore surprising that a man who stands alone among his fellow-creatures, in every age and in every clime, should, when a boy, have separated himself from his

school-fellows, and, retiring within the recesses of his own singularly-constructed mind, have looked down upon other students as human creatures with whom he could have neither common ties, nor kindred sympathies, excepting when they ministered to his prevailing taste, or gratified his ambition. He was soon distinguished by the sullen austerity and inflexible intrepidity of his temper. He addicted himself at this period with much earnestness to the preliminary studies of the military art, and the higher and more abstruse branches of the mathematics: but general literature, and particularly the *belles lettres*, attracted but an insignificant portion of his attention. The Ancient History and the Lives of Plutarch were resorted to by Napoleon as a recreation from his severer professional studies.

It was the custom at Brienne for the students to receive a portion of ground, which they cultivated for their own amusement. Buonaparte enlarged his share by purchasing a contiguous plot belonging to one of his companions. This garden he cultivated with the most assiduous care, surrounding it with pallisades, and forming within bowers and recesses, to which he retired to pursue, without interruption, his favourite occupations. He employed his leisure hours in this retreat, principally in the invention of military manœuvres, the construction of plans of fortifications, and in the arrangement of ideal armies in mimic order of battle. No spider could dart from its lines of concentricity upon a recreant fly which had profaned the arcanum of his meshes with greater avidity than did our young hero upon any of his school-fellows, who ever, accidentally or otherwise, invaded his verdant dominions. A remarkable instance of this tenacity is recorded. On St. Louis's day, in the year 1784, a peculiar festival at Brienne, all the students, with the exception of Napoleon, abandoned themselves without reserve to a variety of sports in commemoration of the day. Among other diversions, fire-works were exhibited in a garden adjoining Buonaparte's enclosure, in which had been deposited a considerable quantity of gunpowder. This unfortunately ignited, and a dreadful explosion was the consequence :

several of the youths attempted to escape through Buonaparte's garden, when the ferocious boy was seen armed with a pick-axe, and driving such of his companions back into the fire as had trespassed, even in this terrible emergency, upon his territory; nor did he desist until he had severely wounded those who had broken down his fence.

Disgusted with the puerile amusements of his fellow-students, Buonaparte instituted Pyrrhic games, where, according to the custom of the ancients, he marshalled the boys in parties, representing alternately the Romans and the Carthaginians, the Greeks and the Persians. In these mimic contests, the embryo conqueror of Italy and Germany was beheld in the warmest parts of the encounter, directing, reproaching, exhorting, and kindling in the breasts of his associates, a spark of that martial enthusiasm which already burned in his own bosom.

The winter of 1784 happened to be extremely severe, and the fields of Champagne were long covered with snow. Buonaparte availed himself of this circumstance, and directed his companions (whose awe of his bold originality of character was so great, that he could command them at pleasure) to raise, under his superintendence, an extensive and regular fortification; in which forts, redoubts, bastions, ravelines, &c. were constructed in snow, according to the nicest rules of military art. These works were alternately besieged and defended by our hero, who ordered all the operations. Whilst, however, Buonaparte exhibited so many striking proofs of the precocity and strength of his genius, his disposition still remained rugged, and his manners repulsive and unamiable to the last possible degree. If he was at this period a prodigy of military talent, he was careless of giving offence to his equals or superiors, and uniformly disdained either apology or reparation.

In October, 1784, Napoleon underwent an examination by the Chevalier de Rénault, who found him well versed in the art of fortification; and, although some of his masters objected to certain points of his conduct, he was elected to the Military



School of Paris: a high distinction at that time, and in the present instance equally honourable to the discernment of the chevalier, and the abilities of the pupil.

On his arrival at Paris, the young Napoleon pursued, with unremitting assiduity, his military studies. It was here that he first contracted an intimacy with Lauriston and Dupont, which he remembered when seated on the throne of France, and invested with the dictatorship of Europe. Monge, his preceptor in the Military College of Paris, is said to have foretold his future greatness.

In 1785, being found properly qualified, Buonaparte was appointed a lieutenant in a regiment of artillery; and soon afterwards joined his corps. About this period, the death of the Count Marboëuf, who had hitherto supplied him with money, rendered the young warrior's financial operations far less satisfactory than his military plans. It was now that a clear indication of approaching revolution in France appeared; and Buonaparte, who had distinguished himself amongst his brother officers, as much by the tenacity and turbulence of his temper, as by the transcendant superiority of his genius, strenuously espoused the popular party; which he maintained with so much zeal and violence, that his companions were, on a particular occasion upon the point of drowning him, when he was fortunately rescued from their grasp. He soon afterwards deserted their society altogether, and in this state of ascetic seclusion, we must for the present leave him, in order to state, as briefly as possible, the origin and progress of that stupendous revolution, in the concluding scenes of which Buonaparte was destined to become so prominent an actor.

Originally, France, as well as Spain and Portugal, enjoyed political freedom. We say political, because in these states, and in France especially, the authority of the sovereign was held in check by a numerous martial and resolute aristocracy. Excepting, however, in the towns which obtained royal charters of emancipation from the yoke of the nobles, the peasants at large were hewers of wood and drawers of water to the

potent barons, whose fields they cultivated, whose battles they fought, whose behests they obeyed, at whose frowns they trembled, and at the shrine of whose lust and cupidity their wives and daughters, and their whole property were offered up in daily sacrifice.

The first considerable augmentation of their power which the kings of France of the Capetian dynasty received, was from the annexation of the provinces held by the sovereigns of England: an event which was nearly accomplished in the reign of Philip Augustus. Before that era, the French monarch was only the first baron of his kingdom; exposed to the insults of his more powerful vassals; and depending for the maintenance of the splendour of his exalted rank, and the necessary charges of his civil administration, upon the produce of the crown lands, joined to an inconsiderable revenue imposed upon their merchandize. In process of time, the rich foreign inheritance of our Henry II. merged by successive conquests in the persons of the French kings, and they became more powerful themselves, and consequently better enabled to extend protection to their subjects.

The feudal system united at different extremities of one vast chain (of which the sovereign was the first, and the humble possessor of a solitary knight's fee, the last link,) all who aspired to the rank and character of gentry. But well adapted as this system was, from the peculiar circumstances of a conquering people, dispersed amongst a vanquished but more numerous nation, to rivet the chains of the latter, and establish the security of the former from external assaults, while the conquest itself was recent; it was proved in a short time, from its inherent vices, to be equally and necessarily a scourge to the peasants, and a perpetual grievance to the sovereign. A community of interests soon established the mutual co-operation of the monarch and the lower orders of his subjects in mitigating the rigours, and repressing the excesses resulting from a state of feudality. The humiliation of the nobles was a favourite object with Louis XI. The rack, the dungeon, and the axe, were unsparingly employed by that great poli-

tician, and still greater tyrant. A mercenary standing army enforced his mandates; and the nobles, without union amongst themselves, or military experience, and destitute of popular support, were reduced to full and unqualified submission. But whilst the sovereign thus extended his authority over the nobles, and the inhabitants of towns and cities became, in consequence of their franchise, great and prosperous, the villager or serf remained still exposed to the tyranny of the seigneur. The religious wars which desolated France from the time of Francis I. to the apostacy of Henry IV., and the ascendancy acquired and maintained during a great part of that melancholy interval by the house of Guise, exalted once more the power of the principal nobility on the ruins of the just prerogative of the sovereign, and the dearest rights of the people.

The paternal government of Henry IV. cicatrized, but did not effectually heal the wounds of his country. The long minority which succeeded the assassination of that great and good prince, and the faction to which it gave rise, had plunged every part of the empire in the most frightful disorder; when the master spirit of the storm appeared, and wielding the sceptre of an all-pervading despotism, quelled the waves of popular commotion into that gloomy and awful calm which commonly succeeds the rage of the tempest. In the iron grasp of Richlieu, the power of the nobility and the remaining liberties of the people were crushed; and an uniformity of slavery succeeded to the caprices of wanton licentiousness. Louis XIV. was not only the most formidable, but in fact the most absolute monarch in Europe; and his internal administration, so far as the question of civil liberty is concerned, presents a revolting picture of lawless oppression. To enter into minute particulars would lead us too far from our main object. We must, therefore, now proceed to discuss the form of the French constitution, and the practical results of the system of administration.

The first and greatest tribunal was that of the States-Ge-



neral of the kingdom, which consisted of the King and the representatives of the nobles, the clergy, and the enfranchised part of the population. This august court, in which all the powers of sovereignty were united *in jure et in esse* was very rarely assembled. The last convention of the States General took place in 1617. A more convenient instrument was found to interpose the mockery of an intermediate power between the sovereign and his subjects. Courts of justice, called parliaments, whose members were lawyers, and who were nominated for life by the king, were gradually established and dispersed throughout the provinces. It was a most important branch of their functions, to register the sovereign's edicts; after which enrolment they obtained the force of laws. In case of refusal on the part of the magistracy to register the edict proposed to them, the alternative adopted, was to hold what was called a Bed of Justice; when the king, in person, went to the parliament of Paris, and compelled the record of what he desired.

This was the only barrier opposed to the inroads of kingly tyranny. In the administration of justice the institution of juries was unknown. Torture was frequently inflicted; and *lettres de cachet* placed the personal liberty of every Frenchman at the disposal not only of the monarch, but even of the mistresses of the minister's valets.

The nobility and clergy were exempted from all taxation; which fell with insupportable weight upon the great bulk of the people. Myriads of monks and nuns covered the land, and devoured its richest fruits. The cultivators of the soil were burthened with the gratuitous performance of many oppressive duties for their advantage. To complete the picture, Protestantism was proscribed; and the dissenters from the Catholic faith were kindly disencumbered of all secular cares by the sequestration and destruction of their property; their understandings enlightened by the conflagration of their own dwellings; and their souls considerably mortified by the forced maceration and torture of their schismatical bodies. Such was the state of civil polity in the reign of *LOUIS le Grand!* Yet, in the course of

that reign, men of the most powerful and extensive genius in every branch of learning, useful and ornamental, as well as in every department of civil and military administration, flourished.

The profligate regency of the Duke of Orleans aggravated the evils of the state; and when Louis XV. mounted the throne, the court exhibited an arena, on which prostitutes and *valets de chambre* contended for the mastery over the feeble and enervated mind of the royal rake. The first employments of the state were frequently bestowed upon the most unworthy and incapable individuals to gratify a Pompadour or a Barré. To form a correct notion of this court, the reader must conceive the women generally to have been devoid not only of virtue, but its apology and substitute, shame; and the men emasculated of every generous, decent, and patriotic feeling. Finally, the finances became disordered, and a new spirit arose among the parliament, which communicated with electrical rapidity to the people, and menaced the kingdom with civil war. The disputes respecting the bull *unigenitus* roused the representatives to a system of vigorous opposition to the measures of government, which it could not, in the event, control, and which, supported by the indignant aid of the people, may be considered as the earliest dawn of the revolution.

During this reign a new power had arisen in France, the consequences of which were not at that time generally foreseen. Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, Grimm, and a host of other writers, assailed by argument and ridicule not only the Romish superstition, but the errors and corruptions of the government. It has been the curse and calamity of the French nation, that the speculations of these writers overshot their mark: that in undermining Papacy, they sapped at the same time the foundations of all revealed religion; and in their manner of exposing the abuses of arbitrary power they indisposed their proselytes to submit to those necessary restrictions, without which liberty is only a cloak for licentiousness, and wild experiments to attain impracticable perfection, convert reformation into revolution, render the possession of property in-

secure, demoralize the people, and terminate in that anarchy from which military usurpation is hailed as a deliverance.

On the accession of Louis XVI., a prince honourably distinguished from his predecessors by the purity of his morals, and the natural benevolence of his disposition, the government appeared to repose in tranquillity on its ancient foundations. But France, humbled in the dust by the reverses which signalized the latter years of the war, terminated by the peace of Versailles in 1763, cherished the hope and unextinguishable desire of vengeance. The unhappy disputes between Great Britain and her North American colonies afforded the opportunity. The treacherous De Choiseul, who then presided over the councils of France, directed her fleets and armies to co-operate with the Americans. The result, no Englishman who merits that title, would wish, if he could avoid it, to remember. He did not live to behold the consequence of his system of policy; but it was ordained that his sovereign should drain to its last dregs the bitter cup of retribution. The detachment of the French army which triumphed with Washington and Rochambeau, imbibed the spirit which animated the cause for which they had contended. Their opinions were communicated to their brethren, and were gradually adopted by an infinite majority of the people. Still, the march of the revolution might have been retarded, had not the government proclaimed its insolvency by dishonouring certain bills drawn from Martinique. Various expedients were successively devised by the minister Turgot, Necker, and Calonne, to restore, or at least, to improve, the finances of the country. Retrenchments were made in the disbursements of the royal household; loans were raised by Necker upon the credit of the revenue, and new taxes were attempted to be levied. The king's edicts were refused to be registered by the Parliament of Paris. The members remonstrated, and were exiled. The other executive assemblies of France were equally refractory. The king, at length, nominated a Convention of 140 persons of the highest rank. They were equally



averse to the new taxes, which were intended to apply to the nobility and clergy as well as the people. The Parliament of Paris being recalled, another experiment was tried upon their submission. The king held a Bed of Justice, with the view of causing the edicts for the new taxes to be registered. A long discussion took place in his presence ; at the close of which His Majesty commanded the edicts to be registered. The Duke of Orleans boldly remonstrated against this despotic measure: he was exiled, and the most distinguished members of the Parliament arrested. The king, however, soon recalled the Duke, and released the imprisoned members. The mutual hostility between the King and Parliament still subsisting, a scheme was tried for constituting a new court, which was to supersede the Parliament in its most important functions. This proposition was fiercely opposed, and finally abandoned.

The government, hated and despised, with the exception of M. Necker, by the people; crippled in its finances, and destitute of any fixed principle of action, alternately coercing and conceding, at length resolved on the decisive measure of assembling the States-General. It was determined that the number of deputies should be 1200, of which 600 were chosen by, and to represent, the people.

Before we proceed to the narration of the ever-memorable effects of this measure, it is due to the memory of the amiable, but unfortunate, Louis to state, that he had spontaneously effected many important ameliorations in the administration. The Protestants, so long the victims of the most cruel and impolitic persecution, were permitted the free exercise of their religious rites. The torture was abolished in judicial proceedings; and, as far as the royal example and precepts could counteract the unfeeling rapacity and eastern luxury of the court, the finances were economically and wisely administered. Still, however, the main grievance of the empire, the power of causing arbitrary arrests; the exemption of the nobility (estimated at 100,000 individuals,) and the clergy (reckoned at 80,000,) from all share of the public burthens; and the

subjection of the peasantry to the despotic jurisdiction of the seigneurs, remained unredressed.

All France looked forward with the greatest anxiety to the session of the States-General, which took place on 4th May, 1789; but, upon the representatives of the people, the regards of the nation were fixed with the fervour of hope, and the intensity of attachment. Hardly had this august assembly met, when a question of the first magnitude in its results was agitated. This was no other than, whether the delegates of the different orders should carry on their deliberations in separate chambers, or in one body. The representatives of the people strenuously contended for the latter expedient. They reasoned, and most justly, that it was useless to equalize their numbers with that of the representatives of the nobility and clergy. If these two orders, having personal interests, not only separate from, but even hostile to, the general interests of the nation, were to have distinct voices, it was clear that in all contests, (and many such were anticipated between the popular part of the national representation and the nobility and clergy,) every proposition emanating from the former, and encroaching upon the privileges of the latter, would be opposed and rejected in the Upper Houses. Nothing can convey a more perspicuous notion of the want of common foresight, and even of common sense, on the part of the government, than the fact of its having been entirely unprepared for a dilemma it had itself created. All business was suspended whilst the vital question was discussed between the privileged order and the popular representatives. By degrees, different members of the nobility and the clergy united themselves to the Commons, who, thus fortified, passed the Rubicon, and assumed the title of National Assembly; thereby reducing those who composed the privileged order to the rank of private individuals. It was then that the King interfered, and, annulling the *arrêts* of the assembly, decided for the deliberation, by separate chambers, on matters which related to the privileges of the different orders. At an extraordinary convocation of the States-General, at Ver-



sailles, in the presence of the king, he attempted to carry this measure into execution. At his departure, an usher summoned the representatives of the Commons to leave the hall; when Mirabeau made this daring and determined reply: "Tell your master, that we will not disperse but at the point of the bayonet!"

During this struggle, the royal cabinet was rent by internal factions; the queen and the princes of the blood, with their interested adherents, advised the most despotic measures against the assembly. Necker, whose influence was upon the wane, recommended conciliatory expedients. The King, weak and irresolute in his conduct, but pure and benevolent in his designs, had not capacity to discern, nor vigour to pursue a manly and consistent course. Thus, after opposing the union of the orders in one assembly, he sent a mandate to such of the nobility and clergy as had already joined the commons, to unite themselves to them. Having conceded this most important point, it behoved the king to capitulate to a power, which, supported as it then was by the people, was in fact the depository and organ of the sovereign will. By an act as it would almost appear of judicial blindness, the monarch having unchained and unmuzzled the lion, attempted to replace his fetters by a rope of straw. Troops were ordered to march to Paris from the frontiers. M. Necker was dismissed, and commanded to leave the kingdom without delay. The sword was drawn and suspended by a single hair over the Assembly. Ere this crisis had arrived, tumults had broken out in Paris, in which some soldiers of the guards had joined the people. The dismissal of Necker exasperated, but did not intimidate the multitude. On July 14th, 1789, a body of upwards of 40,000 men, headed by detachments of the very army which was to overawe and crush them, attacked the Bastille. The fortress was stormed, and the governor assassinated.

It was now that Louis trembled on the verge of that awful precipice, to which he had been unconsciously led by weak and irresolute counsellors. He repaired unattended to the assembly, whose members were now the undisputed masters of France.

It would require volumes to recount all the events which intervened between this and the period when Buonaparte reappears on the scene: it may be sufficient to observe, that the assembly, in their thirst for innovation, not only removed the real grievances of the country, but reduced the royal authority to a mere pageant. By abolishing the order of nobility, they deprived the sovereign of his natural defenders, and the people of a power which could mediate between, and hold in check, the royal prerogative and the encroachments of a popular assembly.

The princes of the blood, many of the nobility, and a great majority of the clergy emigrated. By their pusillanimous flight, the King and Queen were left exposed and undefended, not only to the rude violence of the Parisian mob, but to the more dangerous assaults of the republican party in the assembly; the leaders of which were now denominated JACOBINS. The uneasy position of the King, and the affectionate feelings which glowed in his benevolent heart towards his expatriated relations and their followers, (unhappily mistaken by him for his real friends,) led him to permit a sort of interior cabinet in his councils, composed of the adherents of the former *régime*, distinct from, and in secret opposition to, his accredited ministers. Hence jealousies, tumults, massacres on the part of the people; and indiscreet and even apparently treacherous and equivocal acts on that of the King. A situation so perplexing could not last long. Louis, who, had he been treated by the assembly as his acknowledged virtues deserved, would probably have adhered with unshaken and honourable firmness to the constitution, attempted to escape to the frontiers. He was arrested and brought back to Paris: from that hour, although the hypocrisy of decent respect was for some time maintained between the King and the National Assembly (which was abandoned when the second assembly met), all real confidence was destroyed. The Emperor of Germany and the King of Prussia espoused the cause of the emigrants, and proposed to enter France, apparently crippled in power and resources, with great armies, to restore the ancient monarchy. No possible

event could have been more fatal to Louis; and, as if to deprive him of all hope, the National Assembly, which had rendered such important services to France, but had at the same time undermined and exposed to the licentious gaze of the rabble the foundations of the monarchy, dissolved themselves; and, by a self-denying ordinance, none of the members could be re-elected in the Convention about to meet.

In the National Assembly, Louis had many warm friends and zealous defenders. In the Convention he had few partizans; and the regal form of government still fewer. The members of the former, with very rare exceptions, were either furious zealots for republicanism, or selfish demagogues, who courted crime and anarchy as the steps by which they could ascend to the pinnacle of power, and then divide the spoils of their deluded country.

The allies entered France, defenceless on her frontier, preceded by the Duke of Brunswick's manifesto. The criminal folly and unparalleled presumption of this document, nerved every arm and fired every heart for vengeance. Until their arrival in Champagne, they encountered no serious opposition, but were there entangled in difficult defiles in the forest of Argonne, (the Thermopylæ of France.) Foiled also by the genius of Dumourier, and destitute of the commonest supply of provisions, they ingloriously retreated. The advance of the allied armies was the signal for commotion. The Thuilleries were forced on the fatal 10th of August 1792; the King deposed and imprisoned in the Temple, and the government declared to be in words, what it had long been in fact, a republic. While these important transactions occurred at Paris, the allies continued to retreat, and Dumourier to pursue. The battle of Genappe decided for the time the fate of the Netherlands; and the republican general advanced as a conqueror to the frontiers of Holland.

The famous fraternizing decree of the Convention, the attempt to open the navigation of the Scheldt, but really and influentially, the fears of the British government for the loyalty of the people, assailed by artful demagogues, precipitated both countries into a war.



It was not only on the side of the Netherlands that the arms of the republic prospered; her victorious banners were unfurled in Germany and Italy; but the laurels of the French armies were tarnished by the enormous guilt of the factions at home. In opposition to common decency, and in violation of common justice, the Convention arrogated to themselves the incongruous characters of legislators, judges, and executioners; and, after a trial still more irregular and iniquitous than that of our unfortunate Charles I., they condemned their virtuous but too irresolute sovereign, to death; and he was accordingly guillotined on the 21st January, 1793.

When this unfortunate prince followed the natural dictates of his heart, he was, so far as the limitation of his talents would allow, an example for all future monarchs. It was his misfortune, and the calamity of his country, that he was swayed, on too many occasions, by the advice of sycophants, who consulted not the real interests of their master, combined as they were with those of regenerated France, but the gratification of their resentment, and the restoration of their own authority. Immortal infamy, by the impartial verdict of posterity, will attach to the ferocious demagogues who so wantonly and cruelly shed his blood, whilst the tear of the historian will bedew with generous sympathy the page in which he records his unhappy fate.

The death of the king dissolved the feeble tie, which, for the furtherance of a common object, the destruction of monarchy and the monarch, had held together the leading members of the Convention. A schism took place between the Brissotines and the faction of the Mountain, composed of ultra-jacobins. Blood was spilt in torrents, and the trophies of the Mountain were erected on a pyramid of human heads.

A phrenzy seized the Convention; Christianity was proscribed; every thing in the shape of decency and consistency was utterly abandoned, and vice in its most hideous excesses triumphed unreprieved. Never in the annals of the world was there seen a groupe of legislators presiding over the destinies of a great and mighty empire, so utterly base,

so remorselessly wicked. Whilst the destroyers of loyalty and Louis, were executing justice upon each other, the armies were neglected, and Dumourier was compelled to retreat.

Discomfited in a series of less important actions, the commencement of the campaign of 1793, in the Netherlands, was for the French an era of calamity. Dumourier retreated to Condé, on the French frontiers, and attempted to seduce his army, and prevail upon them to co-operate with the allies in the restoration of a limited monarchy in France. The attempt was unsuccessful: the greater part of the troops rejected the overture with disdain. Dumourier fled for his life, leaving an army dispirited by repeated disasters, diminished in numbers, distrustful of their generals, and wanting arms, clothing, and every species of military equipment. On the side of Germany and Italy the French were equally unsuccessful.

In Brittany and the ancient province of Poitou, the royalists took up arms, and so formidable was this insurrection, that they advanced within 100 miles of Paris.

The kings of Spain, Sardinia, and the Italian states, joined the coalition. Thus, on every side the republic was assailed; but in proportion to the oppressive force on the extremities, was the increase of the elastic and repellent central power.

Having thus imperfectly and cursorily sketched the origin and progress of the French revolution up to the period of Buonaparte's conspicuous appearance on the scene of action, we must once again take up the disjointed thread of our biography. We left our hero retired within himself in the midst of his brother officers; and sustaining at a riper age the consistency of those singular maxims, and no less singular manners which distinguished him as a boy.

Buonaparte did not remain long in the regiment in which he was first enrolled. He quitted that corps and repaired to Corsica, where he resided some time with his mother, then a widow, and in indigent circumstances. Whilst he remained in this state of seclusion, he continued his professional studies, amusing himself at intervals by composing a History of Cor-

sica, which was approved by the Abbe Raynal, the Robertson of France. He soon afterwards repaired to Paris, where he remained until the year 1790.

It is hardly necessary for us to remind our readers, that Buonaparte warmly and zealously espoused the cause of democracy. It was only in the progress of so mighty a revolution, which prohibited all artificial distinctions, that a master mind like his could hope to emerge from the obscurity of his birth and rank. Talents may, after a particular period, create circumstances, when their possessor can range in a certain orbit; but an opening must in the first instance be afforded for the display of these talents.

In 1791, Buonaparte having re-entered the army, was promoted to be captain of artillery, in the regiment of Grenoble, and quartered at Valence in Dauphiny. He was soon afterwards sent to Ajaccio to organize a battalion of national volunteers, and seize the small isles that lie between Corsica and Sardinia. During his performance of this service, he became acquainted with his countryman Pozzo di Borgo, since so well known in the diplomatic world. The difference of their political sentiments metamorphosed their friendship into the most implacable hostility, and Napoleon narrowly escaped imprisonment from the machinations of Di Borgo. He then left Corsica, and proceeded to Nice with his regiment, where he superintended as an artillery officer between St. Remo and Nice. It was also a part of his duty to collect supplies for the French army of Italy from the southern departments of France; a service at that time attended, from the perturbed state of the districts, with considerable difficulty, and some personal danger.

Hitherto Buonaparte had been employed on occasions which only required ordinary talents; but the time was approaching when this military meteor was to astonish and terrify the nations of Europe by its portentous brilliancy. The first occasion which drew into particular notice the splendid abilities of Napoleon, was the capture of Toulon, which surrendered to Lord Hood and an allied military force, composed of detachments



from the armies of almost every power in hostility with France. His Lordship took possession of it in the name of the French King, in 1793, proclaiming at the same time the constitution accepted by Louis in the Champ de Mars in 1790. The elements of discontent existed in an extraordinary degree in the south of France. The possession by an enemy, of the first sea-port of the republic, and that enemy proclaiming its adherence to a form of government which had still many supporters among the people, was a disgrace and a calamity which taxed to the uttermost the terrible energies of the Convention. A large army was raised, armed, and equipped with incredible rapidity, and furnished with a tremendous artillery.

The town and harbour of Toulon are commanded and almost environed by a chain of lofty and precipitous hills. The possession of these hills, and of the batteries raised upon them, was an object of primary importance to both armies. Desperate efforts were accordingly made for their acquisition or retention by each, with various and alternate fortune; but the French gained ground upon the besieged. In this situation the appointment of a competent officer for the scientific direction of the artillery of the besiegers, engaged the anxious attention of the conventional commissioners, Barras and Freron, and their choice fell upon Buonaparte, who was then serving as an artillery officer. On entering his new command, he perceived the importance of occupying a strong position called Malbusquet, which commanded the tower and arsenal. On this height he constructed a battery of heavy cannon, and commenced a tremendous bombardment. The allied forces made a sally to recover the post. They succeeded in their original design; but pursuing the enemy with precipitate courage, too far, were overpowered by the French, and compelled to retreat with great loss; as well as to resign Malbusquet. From this period the assaults of the besiegers became more terrible, the lines of the besieged growing every day more contracted. Throughout the operations of this protracted siege, the courage, promptitude, and genius of Napoleon, drew

from his general, Dugomier, who afterwards commanded a French army in Spain, a public and highly flattering acknowledgment. It is stated that, in the midst of the engagement, Barras found fault with the direction of a gun which had been pointed under the order of Buonaparte: the young gentleman requested he would attend to his duty as a Naval Commissioner; "I will do my duty," said he, "according to my own judgment, and be answerable for the consequences with my head." Neither friend nor foe could induce him to forego any purpose upon which he had previously formed a resolution.

The results of the siege are well known. On 20th December, 1793, the Allies finally evacuated the town, burning the arsenal, and the ships in the harbour. On this, as well as on too many other occasions, the victories of the French were dishonoured by unwarrantable cruelty and bloodshed; and it is stated upon respectable authority, that Buonaparte was an instrument in the hands of greater criminals, in putting to death, in cold blood, a number of unfortunate royalists who were found, after the departure of the Allies, in the town. But this was only one of the many gross excesses indulged in by the revolutionary powers when victory attended their arms.

The recovery of Toulon, the capture of Lyons, the submission of Marseilles, the signal defeat of the Duke of York by Houchard before Dunkirk, and the raising the siege of Maubeuge by Jourdan, placed the Convention in comparative security, and enabled the Committee of Public Safety, that remarkable combination of profligate guilt and splendid talent, to avail themselves of the immense military resources which the Convention (by the famous decree proposed to Barrere, of arming and employing the whole male population of France in defence of the country,) placed at their disposal. The campaign of the years 1794 and 1799, were accordingly eminently successful. Pichegreu on the side of maritime Flanders, and Jourdan on that of the Sambre and Meuse, after many sanguinary battles, drove the allied forces from the Netherlands into Germany.



Holland was also conquered by this general, and the Rhine, from its confluence with the sea to Basle, was a line, which bounded on that frontier the acquisition of France.

Dugomier, on the other hand, signally defeated the enemy, and compelled the King of Spain to sue for peace. The insurrection in the western departments, prolonged chiefly by the infamous cruelties and flagitious conduct of the agents of the Convention ; the capture of her colonies by England ; the destruction of the Brest fleet by Lord Howe, (on the memorable 1st of June, 1794,) and the defeat of the French armies in Germany, in 1795, were the principal, and perhaps, only deductions from the achievements of France. Glorious, however, as was the outward appearance of the Republic at this juncture, "within were rottenness, wounds, and putrifying sores."

We have already noticed that the faction, called the Mountain, had triumphed over the Brissotines. The incarnate fiend Robespierre, Henriot, Collet d'Herbois, Barrere, and other chiefs of that party, ruled the Convention with a rod of iron. So blood-thirsty a set of miscreants had probably never before united themselves with such unyielding decision, in the pursuit of a particular object, as were to be found among this knot of ultra-republicans. At length Robespierre conceived the design of raising himself to the supreme authority. Blinded by his ambition, he did not perceive, or at least did not regard, the insurmountable difficulties which impeded the execution of his project. Possessing no one quality which could command the esteem, nor any endowments which could excite the admiration of the French ; having no great and acknowledged public services to plead ; unknown to, and therefore disregarded by, the armies ; alternately the director and the tool of the ruffians of a jacobinical mob ; he had acquired his influence only by a dexterous appeal to the passions and fears of the multitude. His colleagues in guilt were alarmed when they saw the heads of their associates falling in hecatombs under the guillotine. They first abandoned, and then accused him. The Convention, whose members hated Robes-

pierre even more than they feared him, seized with alacrity the opportunity of combining their safety with their vengeance. After a brief but ineffectual struggle, this assassin perished, with his remaining supporters, on the scaffold ; and with them soon after expired the reign of blood.

After a long dreary night of crime and horror, the first dawning streaks of a more auspicious day began to appear on the political horizon of France. The Convention, who, while they converted their country into one vast slaughter-house, had saved it by the firmness and sagacity of their measures from foreign subjugation, and civil war, appeared to resume the feelings and the sentiments of men. The exiled members of the Brissotine party were recalled ; the prison doors were opened ; the operations of the guillotine were suspended ; religion, the only perfect source of morality, and the only consistent and infallible guide and protector of human virtue, raised her declining head ; and France, from the reformation, however imperfect, of her governors, could once more urge some pretensions to be regarded as a civilized country.

In the short space of six years, this nation had tried, and tried in vain, the efficacy of the administration of a republic, thinly disguised under the veil of a monarchy, and then of an avowed republic. The first experiment utterly failed, as well, it must be acknowledged, from the intrigues of the cabinet of Louis, as from the absurd and tyrannical limitations imposed upon the necessary exercise of the royal authority. The second experiment also failed, not only from the guilt and folly of the Convention, but from the moral impossibility of governing a corrupt, licentious, turbulent, and powerful nation, by a system adapted, generally speaking, only to small and virtuous countries, such as Switzerland ; or the emancipated colonies of a free people, like the United States of America. A new constitution was therefore prepared and adopted, which divided the legislature into two chambers, and intrusted the executive administration to a Directory composed of five members ; thus assimilating it in some degree to the British constitution.

We left our hero at the close of the year 1793, distinguished by the approbation of General Dugomier, and signalized by his zeal, bravery, and talents, at the siege of Toulon, where he obtained the rank of general. Soon after the capture of that city, he repaired to Nice, where he was arrested on the charge of being a terrorist, and of having been implicated in the sanguinary and atrocious scenes which followed the evacuation of Toulon. He was soon after released, but was deprived of his command in the artillery, although he was not dismissed the service. He was subsequently offered a command in the infantry, which he declined. While at Nice, his attention to his military studies was uniform and unremitting.

From this city Buonaparte repaired to Paris to prefer his complaint; but could only obtain the renewal of the offer of a command in the infantry. Disgusted with the conduct of his superiors, he then demanded his discharge, and permission to repair to Constantinople, both of which requests were refused him.

In 1794, he was entrusted with the command of the expedition against Ajaccio, his native town, which was wholly unsuccessful. The period which intervened between this event and his appointment to command the troops destined to protect the Convention, appears to have been one of the most forlorn epochs of his life. Destitute of money and powerful friends, he is said, about this time, privately to have visited England, and to have taken up his residence in the Adelphi. What his views were in this extraordinary measure, it is not easy to determine. But for the struggles of the Convention, the origin and progress of which we have now to record, Buonaparte might never again have emerged into the active walks of his profession. He might have been confounded with the innumerable crowds of whom history vouchsafes no record, had not his services been thus imperiously called into requisition.

It would lead us into too wide a field of discussion were we to enter into a review of the directorial constitution, framed by



the Convention, and submitted to the French people. The separation of the legislature into two bodies, one called the Council of Ancients, the other the Council of Five Hundred, was a measure which appears to have been suggested by the American constitution. The placing the executive authority in the hands of five members, and renewing them at brief intervals, seemed calculated to protect the liberties of the nation against the encroachments of the government. How far the issue corresponded with these expectations, will shortly appear.

Amidst the multitude of arbitrary and oppressive acts of the Convention, none were more bitterly censured than the edict, that two-thirds of the members comprising the Convention should be re-elected for the new legislature; and if the Department would not re-elect two-thirds, the Convention would become an elective body, and supply the deficiency by its own nomination. The majority of the sections of Paris were distinguished by their active opposition to these laws. Many angry altercations arose between them and the Convention. Expedients were ineffectually tried to compromise the dispute: at length the sword was uplifted by both parties.

On October 5. 1795, a desperate battle was fought between the troops of the contending factions: those of the Convention were nominally commanded by Barras, but really and in effect by Buonaparte, who had the direction of the artillery. The issue was for some time dubious, but was at length decided in favour of the army of the Convention. The insurgents were routed with great slaughter. Nearly 8000 of the Parisians are reported to have fallen in the battle. The Convention dissolved itself October 27th, of the same year.

The sitting of this infernal synod continued thirty-seven months and four days; they signed the death warrant of the successor of an hundred kings; and in one day broke the sceptre, for which an existence of fourteen centuries had procured almost a religious veneration. They converted France into an armed nation, which sent a million and a half of men into the field to repel its enemies; and who defeated the com-

bination of all the great powers of the continent, and subdued Holland. This Convention enacted 11,210 laws; and during its continuance, 360 conspiracies, and 140 insurrections were denounced; and 18,613 persons put to death by the guillotine. The civil war at Lyons cost 31,200 men, and that at Marseilles, 729. At Toulon, 14,325 lives were sacrificed; and in the south of France, after the fall of Robespierre, 750 individuals perished. The war in La Vendée caused the destruction of 900,000, and more than 20,000 dwellings; 4790 persons committed suicide, through fear of the dreadful enormities, the massacres, and the legal cruelties that were committed; and 3400 women died of premature deliveries from the same cause; 20,000 human beings died of famine, and 1550 were driven to incurable insanity. In the colonies, 124,000 white men, women and children, and 60,000 people of colour were inhumanly massacred, and two towns, and 3200 habitations burned. The loss of men by the war alone, is estimated at upwards of 800,000; and 123,789 emigrants were for ever excluded from entering France. Such were the events that occurred during the reign of the bloodiest and most execrable assembly of miscreants that ever disgraced the annals of history, from the remotest ages of barbarism to the present time.

The services performed by Buonaparte were too important to be passed over. Accordingly Barras, at this period one of the directors, appointed him general of the army of the interior, a situation of peculiar trust, some emolument, and more influence. In the beginning of the year 1796, Buonaparte received from Barras the hand of his mistress Josephine, the widow of Vicomte Beauharnois, in marriage, with a dowry of 500,000 francs; and from Carnot the command of the army of Italy. Hitherto the war in that country had been considered only as a sort of episode. The French army was stationed in the Genoese territory, on the southern acclivity of the mountains, inferior in number, and still more so in position to the Austrian and Piedmontese troops; who possessed all the passes and heights of the Alps. At the open-

ing of the campaign, the French had their right supported by Savona, and their left by Montenotte : an advanced guard was stationed in front of Voltri. On April 9th 1796, General Beaulieu attacked the post of Voltri, and compelled the French to retreat to their last entrenchment at Montenotte. Here his progress was arrested by a redoubt, held by about 1500 men, which he in vain attempted to carry. In the meantime Buonaparte had so disposed his troops as to penetrate upon the flank and rear of the allies; and ultimately compelled them to fly with the loss of 4000 men and several standards. By continued movements Napoleon then placed his army on the northern side of the maritime Alps. Pursuing his advantage, on the 3d April he succeeded in calling off a corps of 1,500 men, commanded by the brave General Provera, who had retired to the summit of a mountain, where, during that day, and part of the 14th, he kept in check the left wing of the French army. Whilst these operations were in progress, a desperate struggle took place between the centre and right wing of the French army and the main body of the allied forces. The French formed in close columns of division, crossed the Barmeda under the enemy's fire, with the water three or four feet in depth, and assailed the right wing and centre of Beaulieu's army, while a column was detached to penetrate into the rear of their line. Success attended all these manœuvres, the allies were worsted with the loss of 10,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Defeated, but by no means disheartened, the gallant Beaulieu at day-break on the 15th, having collected a force of 7,000 men, the flower of his army, carried by surprize the village of Dego. The occupation of this post, the key of the whole French positions, was desperately contested. The battle lasted, with various success, until the afternoon. Several French generals were killed or dangerously wounded, but the post was finally retaken, with a loss to the allies of nearly 2000 men.

The campaign had only lasted six days, and had already cost the Austrian and Piedmontese 16,000 men, and a chain of positions almost impregnable. Other actions of less im-



portance followed; the allies were driven from one position to another; neither river nor redoubt, nor the difficult passes of the mountains, could check the progress of the pursuing army. From the 15th to the 24th, Buonaparte continued to advance in Piedmont, compelling his enemy to retire before him by skilful and combined operations on his wings. During this period Ceva, a strong fortress, was blockaded by the French, and Cherasco, a town containing extensive and most acceptable magazines, captured.

The fruits of these achievements attested their importance. The King of Sardinia implored for peace, which was granted on condition of the surrender of Exilles, Tortona, Coni, Alexandria, and Chateau Dauphin. This treaty was in effect a surrender at discretion.

The conclusion of the armistice with the King of Sardinia, enabled Buonaparte on the 29th April, to pursue his march to the Po. By a variety of military and diplomatic feints, he completely deceived Beaulieu, crossing that river at Placenza instead of at Valenza; thus rendering the entrenchments of the Austrian general on the Tesino, and his redoubt at Pavia perfectly useless. The French army likewise entered Tortona, Ceva, Coni, and Casel, in which places they found abundant supplies of every description. These events happened between the 29th April and 10th May. The passage of the Po alarmed all the minor states of Italy, and Buonaparte concluded an armistice with the Duke of Parma, when that Prince purchased his neutrality by stipulating to furnish great supplies of provisions and transports. This convention is remarkable, chiefly for its being the first instance of that spoliation of the precious monuments of the fine arts, which distinguished all Buonaparte's subsequent negotiations in Italy; and occasioned to the degenerate Italians a more lively regret than the loss of an hundred battles. It was a rigorous, unjustifiable, and certainly impolitic step on the part of the conqueror; and had he experienced a reverse of fortune, he would have had sufficient cause to have deplored it. Submission was now, however, the order of the day. The go-

vernment of Venice commanded Louis XVIII. to quit its territory. Tuscany sued for favor. Naples negotiated for peace. The central sea-ports of Lombardy were closed against the English flag. Buonaparte continued to advance, but in order to reach Milan it was necessary to dislodge Beaulieu, who occupied a strong position on the Adda, which could only be approached by the bridge of Lodi. His whole army ranged in order of battle, and supported by 30 pieces of cannon, defended the passage of the bridge, which was continually swept by showers of grape shot. Buonaparte had here a narrow escape from death. He had been standing by a statue, the head of which was carried off only a few moments after he had quitted the pedestal.

The principal part of the French army, formed in close columns, attempted to pass the bridge at the *pas de charge*; shouting *Vive la Republique!* They were repulsed with considerable loss. Another effort was made with the like success: the slaughter was dreadful. Buonaparte, prodigal beyond any modern commander (excepting only Frederick the Great of Prussia) of the blood of his soldiers, ventured upon a third trial. Generals Berthier, Massena, Lasnes the chief of Brigade, Dupat, the chief of Battalion, Cervoni and Dalmagne, placed themselves at the head of the troops, and passed the bridge. Whilst the attention of Beaulieu was drawn to this memorable spot, his army was suddenly attacked in the rear by a detachment of the French forces which had crossed the Adda below Lodi. Thus placed between two fires, the Austrians were completely defeated, with the loss of twenty pieces of cannon, and between 2 and 3000 men, who were either killed or put *hors de combat*. This terrible battle, in which the French army suffered most severely, and in which Buonaparte has been accused, with justice, of equal rashness and inhumanity, decided the fate of the Milanese.

The gallant Beaulieu retired with the wreck of his army under the walls of Mantua. Pizzighitone, Cremona, and Pavia, surrendered to the French; and on the 15th May, Buonaparte entered the town of Milan, not only as a con-



queror, but at that period, as a deliverer. Nothing could be more brilliant than the CORTEGE which welcomed him to the capital of Lombardy; and which comprehended the greater part of the nobility and gentry, together with an immense population. The rejoicings of the Milanese were undoubtedly sincere. The perverse policy of the House of Austria had led the Administration to treat the Italians somewhat in the same manner as the Sublime Porte governs the Greeks, or as Pharaoh took care of the Israelites; that is, by absorbing their wealth, discouraging their trade, prostrating their spirit, and disposing of their persons.

It was always a favourite maxim of Buonaparte, to subsist and enrich his troops and officers at the expense of the vanquished. Before, therefore, the last fragments of the feast which had been given to the French general, on his entrance into Milan, were consumed, or the inhabitants had found leisure to compose and reassure themselves, they were required, in common with the people of the other districts of Lombardy, to contribute their quota towards a fraternal present of 20,000,000 livres; which, it was delicately insinuated by a proclamation from Buonaparte, their new-found relations might, it was probable, be induced to accept. To speak seriously, the rigorous exaction of the French authorities, combined, probably, with the presumption and excesses of their soldiers, and for which they have in every age and under every form of government been remarkable, greatly exasperated the Italians. Only nine days had elapsed since the triumphal entry of Buonaparte into Milan, when the inhabitants, taking advantage of his departure for Pavia, rose against their dear brethren, (as they were entitled in the proclamations), demolished the tree of liberty, and trampled under foot the tri-coloured cockade. Buonaparte immediately returned with a small force, ordered a great number of hostages to be arrested, and those persons to be shot who had been taken in arms; holding at the same time the heads of the clergy and the nobility responsible for the public tranquillity; finally consummating the work of regeneration by permitting Milan to be pillaged by his soldiers. Whilst he was so

occupied, the insurrection extended itself at the same moment to Valenza, Pavia, and Lodi. The assassinations of the French became frequent, and the garrison of Pavia was disarmed by the people. The village of Binasco was attempted to be defended by a number of armed peasants. They were soon overcome; but Buonaparte directed the place to be burned. Pavia presented for some time a more serious resistance, the French garrison in the castle having been made prisoners; but the skill and resolution of Buonaparte's troops prevailed. As a punishment for their turbulence, he ordered the whole municipality to be shot, and 200 hostages to be arrested, and immediately sent into the interior of France.

It would be difficult to imagine a system of intimidation more complete or more decided than the one so rigorously adopted by Buonaparte. Like the disciples of Mohammed, he carried in one hand an unsheathed weapon, and in the other the manna of French liberty, and where the unfortunate victim was slow of conversion, the sword was always at hand to convince him of his error. From the tone and spirit of these acts, we collect that the governing principle in the mind of Buonaparte, even at this early period of his career, was that of military submission and passive obedience. The Duke of Modena now humbled himself before the conqueror, who, according to custom, only extorted money, provisions, and pictures. On entering the Venetian territories, Buonaparte addressed a proclamation to the government and subjects of that ancient republic, declaring that the French armies should preserve the most rigorous discipline, and pay for every thing they required in ready money.

At Borghetto, he attacked and routed the Austrians with the loss of 3000 men; and at Castelnovo, captured several magazines. At this juncture, the Austrians were driven out of Italy, and compelled to retreat to the confines of Germany. On June 1st, Verona was taken; and in consequence of the strong remonstrances of Buonaparte, the Count de Lille, (Louis XVIII.,) was compelled to quit the Venetian territory.

The continual defeats which had marked the career of the

brave, but unfortunate, Beaulieu, induced the Austrian government to confide the chief command of their Italian army to General Wurmser, an old and celebrated military tactician. Mantua, the strongest fortress in Italy, without the possession of which the conquests of Buonaparte were insecure, was now invested by a part of the French forces. Previous to his entering Tyrol, Napoleon issued, on the 14th of June, a proclamation to the brave and virtuous inhabitants of that romantic region, promising that his troops should maintain the strictest discipline, and pay ready money for whatever they might stand in need of, if the Tyrolese would remain tranquil; but threatening them with the utmost vengeance of military execution if they annoyed the march of the French.

Brilliant as had hitherto been his progress in Italy, the situation of Buonaparte was yet insecure. Commotions ensued in the imperial fiefs, and in Tortona, which were repressed in the same manner, and with the same rapidity as on former similar occasions. The recurrence of these insurrections among the inhabitants of a country known to abhor, and most deservedly so, their rulers, and to desire almost any event that would conduce to burst their bonds, is a proof of the unmerciful and impolitic rapacity of Buonaparte and his agents, and of the want of discipline in the French soldiers.

Free from the apprehension of an immediate attack from the army of Wurmser, and having provided for the maintenance of the sieges of the castle of Milan, and the fortress of Mantua, and the suppression of the insurrection in his rear, Buonaparte was enabled to amuse himself with the harlequinade of an expedition against the Papal territories. It would be only a meagre digression from more important matters, to enter into a minute narrative of the operations of this paltry contest: suffice it to say, that the efficacy of cowls, rosaries, reliques, and processions was tried, and tried in vain. The patron saints of the Vatican were absent from their charge, or else its thunders were harmless; for its soldiers were beaten and its subjects disaffected. After a triumphal march, in which Bologna, Fort Urbino, and Ferrara, surrendered with-



out any previous opposition, the Pope was constrained to submit to an armistice on these disgraceful terms: — that his Holiness should send as soon as possible a plenipotentiary to Paris, to obtain from the executive directory a definitive peace, by offering the necessary reparations for the outrages and losses suffered by the French in his territory; that the ports belonging to the Pope should be shut against the vessels of the powers at war with the Republic, and be open to French ships; that the French army should continue in possession of the legations of Bologna and Ferrara; that the citadel of Ancona should be put in the possession of the French within five days, with its artillery and stores; that the Pope should give up to the French Republic 100 paintings, busts, vases, or statues, in the choice of commissioners who should be sent to Rome; among these articles, was one enacting the bust in bronze of Junius Brutus, and that in marble of Marcus Brutus, both placed in the capitol, should be given up.

The progress of the war having brought Buonaparte to the frontiers of Tuscany, he availed himself of the opportunity to detach a column of troops to take possession of Leghorn, which surrendered without resistance. Seals were placed upon all English property, which was sought after by the French agents with indefatigable rapacity, and wherever found, immediately confiscated. The Grand Duke was compelled to invite Buonaparte to a sumptuous dinner at Florence, and during the entertainment, the French general received the tidings of the surrender of the castle of Milan, in which were found great magazines.

During this period of comparative leisure, Buonaparte exhibited another distinctive trait of his disposition, by the patronage he extended to literature and learned men, particularly the astronomer Oriani, and the illustrious members of the university of Pavia. Soon after the capture of Leghorn, Buonaparte conceived and executed a project for regaining his native island, Corsica, from the English. In this expedition he completely succeeded. The whole island was reduced in the space of three weeks, and the English troops con-



strained to seek refuge at Porto-Ferrajo, in the island of Elba. At this period, whilst the war languished in the north of Italy, Wurmser was employed in re-organizing the Austrian army, which was powerfully reinforced, and had thrown up strong entrenchments from the head of the Lake of Garda, to the Adige. These works were carried by the French, after a brief, but severe, contest. Insurrections appeared in the Romagna, which were quelled by a division of the French troops under Augereau in the usual way. Devastation and blood tracked the footsteps of these pretended apostles of the rights of man.

The siege of Mantua, the bulwark of Italy, was vigorously pressed, and the town most gallantly defended. Desperate *sorties* were made by the besieged, some of which were to a certain extent successful; but in the event the French were enabled to open the trenches, and bombard the town in the most furious manner. Wurmser now formed a plan, the conception and execution of which proved the great talents of that veteran commander. Assembling his army, and concentrating its forces to a point, whilst the French were occupied in different directions, he suddenly broke through their line, on the side of the Lake of Garda, on 29th July. Following up his successes the two next days, he compelled the French to evacuate Brescia, Verona, and other posts, and to raise the siege of Mantua; on which occasion the artillery, and stores of the besiegers, were captured. The further advance of Wurmser was now impeded by Buonaparte in person, who rallied his troops, and in the affair at Castiglione, August 3d, compelled him to retrace his steps: still the position of the French was highly critical. In these reverses Buonaparte reaped the just reward of his cruelty to the Italian peasants. His excessive severity rendered the French so unpopular in Italy, that upon the first successes of Wurmser, before Buonaparte left the siege of Mantua, the French army was every where received with execration and insult. Their sick and wounded were refused waggons to convey them to

their quarters, and many expired on the road, covered with blood and dust; the peasants frequently spit in their faces, and insulted them in the agonies of death. Their superstition represented the French as infidels, whom it was their duty to drive from their country.

It was on this occasion that Buonaparte was rescued from death or captivity by one of those remarkable instances of presence of mind, which are peculiar to great and powerful genius. Having proceeded to Lonado, where there was a small number of troops, he found the place completely surrounded by a numerous Austrian division, whose commander had sent a messenger to summon the French to capitulate. Napoleon, perceiving the danger, had recourse to stratagem; for as he had only a few hundred men at Lonado, surrender was inevitable, had the enemy fulfilled his intentions. He accordingly ordered the messenger to be brought before him, and the bandage taken from his eyes; assuring him at the same time, that if his general indulged the vanity of thinking to take the commander-in-chief of the army of Italy, he had only to advance; that he ought to know the latter was at Lonado, as every one knew the republican army was at that place; and that all the general and superior officers belonging to the division, should be responsible for the personal insult he had been guilty of towards the general-in-chief. He then protested, that if Wurmser's division did not in the space of eight minutes lay down their arms, he would shew no mercy to any of them. The officer appeared confounded at finding Buonaparte present, and returned with his answer. Every preparation was affected to be made for attacking the enemy, when in an instant, the entire column, consisting of 4000 men, with four pieces of cannon, laid down their arms.

On 5th August Napoleon caused the whole army to make a retrograde movement, with a view to decoy Wurmser into a position, where his left wing could be completely turned. The stratagem succeeded. Wurmser advanced, and was assailed at all points; after a warm action, the French were

victorious. The Austrians quitted the field with the loss of 2000 men and 18 pieces of cannon. The results of this action were proof sufficient of its importance to the conquerors.

The next day, August 6th, the Austrians were compelled to abandon the line of the Mincio, and Verona was recaptured.

An interval of nearly a month elapsed after this battle before the campaign was seriously resumed. At length, the gallant Wurmser, having collected the remnant of the brave army which he had commanded, proceeded, September 4th, towards Bassano; a town situated on the approach to the gorges of the Tyrol; whither they were soon followed by the French. A terrible struggle ensued. The Austrians fought with dauntless heroism, and the fate of the battle was for a considerable time uncertain. At length the genius of Buonaparte triumphed. The Austrians were compelled to retire, disputing every inch of ground in their retreat. The action, however, still continued. The Austrians, strongly posted, and ably commanded, availed themselves to the utmost of the natural advantages presented by one of the most difficult countries in Europe. Turned, however, on their flanks, victory once more declared for Buonaparte. 4000 prisoners, 20 pieces of cannon, 40 waggons, 7 standards, a vast number of cavalry and artillery horses, and the possession of Trent the next day were the fruits of this sanguinary encounter.

It may in this place be proper to make an observation, which applies, without exception, to the first Italian campaigns of Buonaparte. There is no record of the losses of the French army in detail published by their general, although they must of necessity have been enormous. The active nature of the warfare, the intense heat of the climate, the desperate opposition, and the murderous hatred of the peasants, must have thinned very considerably the ranks of the republicans; but the Directory, with Carnot at their head, patronized in an especial manner the French army in Italy, and continual reinforcements supplied the chasms made by the swords of the Austrians in the field, or completed in the



French hospitals. We may also remark, that Buonaparte thoroughly debauched the troops under his command; who were permitted constantly to revel in every species of cruelty and licentiousness. Until this juncture, the army was the patrimony of the Republic. The generals were modest in their deportment, moderate in their equipment; and, as far as could be expected of them, disinterested in their views. The soldiers, comprising the flower of the youth of France, were enthusiastically attached to the Republic. They would have recoiled with horror from the suggestion of imposing upon their country the yoke of an absolute sovereign; even had that sovereign been the most fortunate and admired of their leaders: but Italy was the grave of their civil virtue. Corrupted by the enormous contributions levied on the vanquished, and divided amongst them, by their commander, avarice, combined with the love of glory, extinguished the enthusiasm of liberty; and the army became, as it were, the personal property of Buonaparte. The Directory saw and dreaded the certain effects of this degeneracy of character; still their fears were disguised under the mask of adulation. But to return from this digression.

From the 6th to 9th September the Republicans advanced with the greatest rapidity, marching twenty leagues in two days, passing through the most difficult defiles, and discomfiting the Austrians in every encounter. In their progress to Bassano, the head-quarters of Wurmser, and in the course of the six days, terminating on the 8th September, they had defeated the enemy in two battles and four skirmishes; and had wrested from them 21 standards, several thousand prisoners, and 70 pieces of cannon, having marched in that period 45 leagues.

At this juncture, Wurmser conceived a daring enterprise, which he executed with equal skill and intrepidity. Having collected the remains of his miserably diminished army, he resolved to throw himself into Mantua. Eluding the vigilance of the French generals by a most rapid counter-march, and surprising and defeating their posts before that city, he ac-



accomplished his design in the presence of the conqueror. This was, in all its circumstances, the most brilliant exploit achieved by the Austrians in Italy, and reflects the greatest honour on the military science and bravery of Wurmser.

On the 15th, the garrison of Mantua, so strongly reinforced, sallied forth to preserve the important position of La Favorite and St. George; but after a desperate action, which cost them upwards of a thousand prisoners, they were obliged to relinquish it. From this time the French, who were in possession of two of the city gates, closely blockaded Mantua, and famine began its inroads upon the garrison. The interval which elapsed between the entrance of Wurmser into Mantua, and the formation of a new Austrian army under General Alvinzi, was employed by Buonaparte in consolidating his conquests. Modena, Pozzio, and Ferrara were moulded into a small State. Tumults were vigorously repressed, and magnificent fêtes solemnized at Milan. All those engines of command which hope, fear, or splendor could supply, (and it must be admitted some important ameliorations in the condition of the people,) were successfully employed by Napoleon. Anthony, after the battle of Philippi, did not possess more real power in the western regions of Asia, than the French Pro-Consul in Italy.

If the Directory assiduously seconded the efforts of Buonaparte, the Austrian government, on its side, was by no means supine. The army under Alvinzi, composed in a great measure of volunteers, many of them of noble families, collected themselves in the *debouchés* of the Tyrol. The force immediately opposed to them was too weak to encounter so formidable a host; it was therefore withdrawn to the Adige and Roverido, Trent, Bassano, and Vicenza were abandoned. Buonaparte hastened with reinforcements to support his line; and it must not here be forgotten that at least half the French army was detained before Mantua. On the 2d, 3d, 7th, and 12th November various engagements took place, with alternate success. Indeed they appear to have been chiefly feints to discover the real designs of Alvinzi: but it is evident that the

advantages, on the whole, during these skirmishes, were obtained by the Austrians. On the 15th, a general and decisive battle was expected and desired by both armies. Accordingly Buonaparte, having collected the divisions of Augerau and Massena, proceeded by a night march to execute a design he had formed of penetrating upon the flank and rear of the Austrians, and capturing their park of artillery and magazines. In this enterprise he was foiled. On approaching the village of Arcola, a portion of the French army was compelled to march on a dike constructed between impracticable morasses, and to proceed to a little bridge leading to the village, which was occupied by the enemy in great force, who raked it with a tremendous fire of musketry and grape-shot. The efforts of the French to pass this bridge were unavailing, and the slaughter with which their repeated attempts were attended was dreadful. Vainly did Buonaparte put himself at the head of the column: his horse was overthrown, and his troops retreated in confusion. A moment at length arrived when it appeared practicable, by an immediate charge upon the French column, to have secured over the Republicans a decided victory: it was suffered to pass away unimproved.

Finding the village impregnable in front, Napoleon sent round by a *détour* a considerable detachment, which in the evening forced it; but he found it expedient to evacuate it at night. Thus ended the first day's encounter, in which it was evident that Buonaparte had been repulsed. At day-break, on the 16th November, the Austrians attacked the French in every direction. The left wing of the Republican army discomfited the right of the Austrians, with the loss of 1500 prisoners, six pieces of cannon, and four standards. The column under Augerau repulsed the assailants, but could not retake Arcola; nor could Buonaparte pass a canal which descended into the Adige. Thus, on the close of the second day's battle, the victory was still undecided. On the 17th the French army attacked the Austrians in their turn, and the battle once more raged with the utmost fury. The centre of the French line fell back; when Napoleon ordered a detach-

ment to place themselves in ambuscade, and charge the assailants in flank. This manœuvre succeeded, and the Austrians could no longer stand their ground; but on the right wing of Buonaparte's army, they outnumbered the French, and kept them in check. Napoleon then detached twenty-five men of the corps of guides, with a trumpet to each, with orders to turn the left flank of the Austrian's right wing, blow their trumpets, and charge.

This stratagem succeeded: the Austrians began to retreat, but still resisted, when a small column of French troops assailed them unexpectedly in the rear, and compelled them to abandon their post. At this moment Massena took possession of Arcola; and the battle, which had lasted three days, was thus decisively concluded. This was one of the most desperate actions fought during the whole war, and had very nearly accomplished the ruin of the French army. The loss of the Austrians was estimated at about 13,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, four standards, eighteen pieces of cannon, and many waggons. The loss of the French probably equalled, if it did not exceed that of their enemies. Whilst this awful struggle lasted between the main bodies of the two armies, the Austrians, on the other part of the line, carried the important post of Rivoli, and thereby uncovered the blockade of Mantua.

Buonaparte having made his dispositions for pursuing the discomfited host of Alvinzi, reinforced the division which had been charged with the defence of Rivoli, and Mantua remained blockaded. Still, however, Rivoli was not yet retaken, and the division which had been stationed there, was repulsed.

On 21st November the French General so strongly reinforced that division, and took such measures for calling off the portion of the Austrian army which had advanced to Rivoli, that it was compelled to retreat with heavy loss. On the 23d Wurmser made an unsuccessful *sortie* from Mantua, and Buonaparte got possession of the citadel of Bergamo. A few days afterwards, while Alvinzi's forces were stationed partly on the Brenta and partly in the Tyrol, and the French oc-



occupied the line of the Adige, Mantua was reduced to the last extremity, the garrison subsisting solely upon horse-flesh.

A short period of comparative tranquillity followed the sanguinary battle of Arcola, which enabled Buonaparte to take a central position at Verona; to overthrow the Pope, and to draw from the different divisions of his army a disposable column of 15,000 men, which was destined to march to any part of the French line that was menaced. Employment was very soon afforded them. On the 12th and 13th January, 1797, Alvinzi commenced a general attack upon the outposts of the Republicans, and so ably and skilfully were his ulterior designs concerted, that for some time they eluded the penetration of Buonaparte. Under the mask of an assault upon the whole of the enemy's line, Alvinzi meditated two enterprizes; the first to enforce the important positions of La Corona and Rivoli, which covered the *debouchés* of the Alps, and the Lake of Garda; and the second, to penetrate with a numerous force to Mantua. In both these designs he for a time succeeded: the post of La Corona was taken, and, but for the activity and foresight of the French general, the whole of the division under Joubert, which still occupied Rivoli, and which was nearly surrounded, must have been destroyed. Availing himself of his disposable column, Buonaparte marched to the relief of Joubert. On the 14th the battle raged at this point with considerable fury. The right wing of the Republicans was driven back in great disorder, and it was only by the most strenuous efforts that they were enabled to preserve the post of Rivoli, on the maintenance of which the safety of their whole army depended. On the 15th, however, fortune again favored the French standards; the Austrians, who had imprudently extended their line, were vigorously attacked in the flank as well as in the centre; and a column of 6000 men were compelled to lay down their arms. On the side of Mantua, a division of Austrian troops, commanded by Provera, crossed the Adige, defeated the French corps opposed to them, and pressed on rapidly towards that fortress. Buonaparte, recalled from Rivoli by this manœuvre, so disposed his forces, as at once to surround



Provra, and repel a desperate sally made by Wurmser. On this trying occasion his activity and skill frustrated all the plans of his enemies. Provera's column surrendered, and the blockade of Mantua was resumed. In four days Buonaparte had fought and conquered in two pitched battles, and six inferior actions; having captured during that period 25,000 prisoners, 20 standards, 60 pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of baggage, besides killing and wounding 6000 men. This signal victory may be said to have decided the fate of Italy.

The different troops of the republican army, not engaged in the siege of Mantua, pursued the enemy into the Tyrol. Trent, Bassano, and Roverido, were successively recaptured; and the Austrians diminished daily in number, and although they every where presented a most courageous resistance, they were at length compelled to a precipitate and disorderly retreat. The fate of Mantua, the prize for which the Austrian Government had devoted the armies of Wurmser and Alvinzi to destruction, could no longer be withheld. It was surrendered by the former general, who had made frequent sallies, but was always overcome; his valor and intrepidity had gained him the admiration even of the enemy with whom he fought. The siege is said to have cost the French 24,000 men.

On the 2d February, 1797, a conference was held between Generals Wurmser and Serrurier, to fix the articles of capitulation; when it appeared that the hospitals were crowded with sick, and that all the horses had been devoured by that part of the garrison which had survived the dreadful conflicts without, and the horrors within the walls. On this occasion Buonaparte displayed the generosity of a soldier to the veteran General Wurmser, who, although 70 years of age, had performed deeds that would have shamed thousands of more youthful heroes. Mantua was taken possession of February 3d. The Austrians marched out with the honors of war, but laid down their arms on the glacis, and became prisoners. General Wurmser was exempted, together with his whole suite, the general officers, the état-major, and whoever else the brave

veteran thought proper to nominate. He was allowed 100 cavalry, 6 pieces of cannon and their waggons, and 500 persons of his own selection; and the 700 men by whom he was accompanied, were not to appear in an hostile manner against the Republic, for the space of three months. The rights, privileges, and property of the inhabitants were to be preserved inviolate, and no inquiry was to be instituted respecting their conduct who had espoused the cause of the Emperor.

On this occasion Buonaparte issued a proclamation to his army, abounding, as usual, in bombast and gasconade. The conquest of Mantua enabled him to amuse himself by attacking the Papal dominions, upon the ground, that during the temporary reverses of the French army, his Holiness had attempted a diversion in favor of the Austrians with his troops. Before the commencement of hostilities, a diplomatic correspondence took place between Buonaparte to the Pope.

No serious opposition was experienced, nor could have been manifested: his Holiness was compelled to subscribe a treaty, by which he was required to pay 30,000,000 livres, to cede the Comtat-Venaissin, and Avignon, Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, as well as to surrender an immense number of manuscripts, and the most valuable of his pictures.

Buonaparte then offered his protection to the Republic of St. Marino, (a political curiosity,) which, with a population of 5000 inhabitants, had preserved its liberties and independence from the fifth century. The reply of the government of this little territory to the cajoling overtures of the French general, reminds us of the heroic ages of Greece and Rome. "Tell him," said they, "that the Republic of Marino, content with her mediocrity, is afraid to accept the generous offer he has made of aggrandizing her territory; the consequences of which might compromise her liberty."

About this time Napoleon gained a good deal of *eclat* from the literary world for his conduct respecting the village of Pietola, the ancient Andes, where Virgil was born. He gave orders, that the ancient patrimony of the Mantuan bard, the

prince of Latin poets, should be particularly distinguished, and that its inhabitants should be indemnified for all the losses they had sustained during the war.

Splendid, however, as were the fortunes of our hero at this period, the other branches of his family had been no less assiduous in the advancement of their interests. His brothers, Joseph and Lucien, availed themselves of the credit that Napoleon's successes attached to their name, and with very little either of talents or property, contrived to obtain seats in the Legislative Body. Louis, his third brother, received an appointment as a lieutenant-colonel in the army of Italy; and Jerome, though a mere school-boy, was handsomely provided for. A part of the General's immense wealth was also devoted to the elevation of his mother and sisters.

The attention of the Austrian and French governments was intently fixed on Italy, and every exertion was made by the former to recover the possessions it had lost; and by the latter, to secure the immense advantages it had gained. Accordingly a new army was created in that quarter, for the Archduke Charles, who had so gloriously distinguished himself in Germany in the course of the preceding campaign in 1796, as to have obtained and merited the title of the saviour of his country. On the other hand, divisions of French troops, commanded by Kellerman and Bernadotte, drawn from the French army on the Rhine, crossed the Alps in the depth of winter, and united themselves to Buonaparte's forces.

The period between 5th February and 16th March, 1797, was marked by many severe but partial actions, in which the French were successful, and continued to gain ground on the side of the Tyrol. On the 16th, the hostile armies lined the opposite banks of the Tagliamento, and Buonaparte availing himself of a sharp frost which had choked up the Alpine torrents, and diminished considerably the violence of the stream, resolved to ford the river in sight of the enemy. This enterprize was successfully accomplished. The Austrians, disheartened by continual defeat, did not make the spirited resistance which was expected. The action that followed was



rather a rout than a battle; although the loss of the Austrians was not very considerable.

Buonaparte was now on the point of entering the difficult passes of the Alps. On the 18th his troops arrived at Gradisca, (scaling mountains heretofore deemed inaccessible to a military force,) which they captured, together with 2000 prisoners, the flower of the Austrian army, ten pieces of ordnance, and eight standards. On the 21st of the same month (March) they found at Goritz considerable magazines, and on the 23d another division of their army took possession of Trieste. In the mean time a column of the Austrian army, which had separated itself from the main body, was pursued by the French, overtaken, surrounded, and captured; and another column, which had proceeded from Clagenfurth, was encountered, and beaten at Tarvis. This action was fought on the summit of that lofty chain of the Alps which is the common frontier to the Friuli, Carniola, and Dalmatia. The snow upon the height on which the battle took place was upwards of three feet deep. The result of these different engagements was the capture of 5000 men, 4 generals, 30 pieces of ordnance, and the baggage of the Austrian army.

While the centre and right wing of the Republican forces were thus driving the enemy before them in the direction of Carinthia and Hungary; the left wing, which had been charged with the subjugation of the Tyrol, fulfilled their mission to the entire satisfaction of their commander. Ascending the dangerous defiles of the Tyrol, the troops stationed on the river Lavis were surrounded and made prisoners with a loss to the Archduke of 6000 men. The remainder of the detachment cut off from Botzen, wandered as fugitives among the mountains. Advancing to Claufen, the French were strongly opposed by an Austrian division. The battle was long and obstinately contested. It was decided by the Republican light infantry, who climbed rocks nearly perpendicular, which enabled them to turn the position of the enemy. At Botzen and other places, considerable magazines were found, and the Austrian hospitals fell into the hands of Buonaparte.



On the 28th the centre and right wings of the French army were encamped at Villach, on the river Drave, and having cleared all the passes of the Alps on the 29th, took possession of Clagenfurth on the 1st of April, and entered Laubach, the capital of Carniola.

Bernadotte's division and a corps was detached by Buonaparte, to open a communication with the left wing, under Joubert, at Brixen, who, on 28th of March, had made himself master of the almost impregnable position of Inspruck. Since the commencement of this campaign, Prince Charles had been with heavy loss entirely driven from the Venetian territories; from the higher and lower Carniola, Carinthia, the district of Trieste, and the whole of the Tyrol. Pursuing their victorious march towards Vienna, several spirited actions took place between the advanced guard of the French and the rear of the Austrian army. At the defile of Neumarck, a desperate action was fought between the Austrian battalion, which had taken Kehl the preceding year, and the grenadiers of General Massena's division: this was a battle between the *élite* of both armies; but after a glorious and protracted struggle, the star of the Archduke was again eclipsed, and the Austrians gave way. In the vicinity of Hundsmarck, where the French again triumphed, they ate the bread, and drank the brandy on the field of battle, which had been prepared for their enemies. From this period, the beginning of April, the Austrians attempted no further serious resistance, but fell back with the greatest rapidity on the mountains which rise within sight of Vienna.

Such was the moment judiciously selected by Buonaparte, whose troops occupied Kiutenfeld, Murau and Judenberg to attempt a negotiation for peace with the Austrian general.

In no instance in the course of his eventful career did Buonaparte shew more practical good sense than in making this overture. Notwithstanding the rupture of this negotiation, the Archduke sent an aide-de-camp to request a suspension of hostilities for four hours, which Buonaparte refused to grant. The situation of the Austrian government now became very

critical. One more signal defeat, and Vienna would be the prize of the conquerer! All the hopes entertained from the talents and popularity of the Archduke Charles had vanished. In this dilemma, two Austrian noblemen waited upon Buonaparte, and discussed with him the conditions of a suspension of arms for ten days, which was accordingly concluded. By this convention Buonaparte established his communication with Italy, and placed the right and left wings of his army, before which the centre was considerably advanced, in a state of security.

However splendid the victories, and formidable the progress of Buonaparte, the armistice was to him almost as necessary as to the Archduke. He had advanced into the centre of the Emperor's dominions, with an army invincible in its spirit, and perfect in its discipline; accustomed to conquer, and idolatrously attached to its general, but greatly diminished by incessant encounters; with an immense tract of hostile country to preserve in subjection; destitute of magazines, and depending for reinforcements and military supplies, scantily gleaned from Italy, already swept of its *materiel* by the contributions so rigorously levied; above all, cut off by its advanced position from any direct communication with the Republic, and 600 miles distant from the Upper and Lower Rhine. In such circumstances, if the progress of the French army had been arrested, it must have been exposed to the risk of immediate famine, if the Italian peasantry would have risen in a mass, and cut off its retreat. On the other hand, the Archduke was in the centre of his resources; the gallant population of Hungary would have crowded to his ranks: in his rear was the strong line of the Styrian mountains; and beyond that line an immense tract of the Austrian dominions, abounding in fortresses, highly populous, and exuberantly rich in natural productions.

The clear view taken by Buonaparte of the complicated embarrassments of his situation; and the dread felt by the Austrian government, of the unknown and irreparable evils which might be inflicted on the empire by the further

progress of its arms, soon brought both parties to an amicable understanding. By the terms of the preliminary treaty, Austria resigned all claim to the Netherlands, which were thenceforward incorporated with France; and to the Milanese, which, with Ferrara, Modena, Romagna, and Bologna, composed a new state, styled a Republic, and organized upon the French model, the ancient Republic of Venice, which for twelve centuries had engaged, by the wisdom and policy of its measures, the admiration of Europe; had been on more than one occasion the bulwark of Christendom against the Turks; and the emporium, during the middle ages, of the entire commerce of the Levant. The administration of this venerable and illustrious state fell under the displeasure of Buonaparte, who alledged, that it had encouraged the assassination of the French; that it had assumed a hostile attitude, levied troops, collected military stores, and formed a conspiracy to cut off all intercourse between the French army then advancing to Vienna and Lombardy.

The logic of a conqueror, whose sword was as terrible as his conscience was now proved to be elastic, prevailed. A desperate opposition was, however, offered by the Venetian peasantry at Verona; but the conquest of Venice was only a pastime to the vanquisher of the Archduke Charles. Carnage glutted her vulture-beak while hovering round the French army. In a short time, the forms of the ancient Republic, which were completely oligarchical, were abolished, and a nerveless skeleton of a free state substituted in its stead; when the whole Venetian territory was added by Buonaparte to Austria, as an indemnification for her losses, and greedily accepted by that power. The annals of the world do not afford a darker instance of deliberate perfidy and cruelty than was exemplified in the conduct of these traffickers in the spoils of an independent and unoffending country.

A revolution was effected at Genoa; and that state, the very name of which recalls so many moving and glorious recollections, was demoralized, *selon les règles de France*.

At this moment Buonaparte was actually the monarch of Italy, and might then, with some appearance of ultimate suc-



cess in his usurpation, have assumed the diadem. His irresistible power was shown by crumbling into dust the greater part of the ancient administration of Lombardy, and forming out of the crude materials, unsightly phantoms of republics. His independence of the Directory alarmed them; particularly as they had now more than ever occasion for his services. A dispute had arisen between the Council of Five Hundred and the Directory, which soon proceeded to extremities. In defiance of all law, and in mockery of all justice, the Directorial troops, under Augerau, entered the hall of the Council, arrested Pichegreu, the president, General Willot, and sixty other members, who, without the decent hypocrisy of a trial, were transported to the sultry and poisonous regions of Cayenne; two members of the Directory were likewise proscribed; but one of them (Carnot) escaped. That portion of the press which had espoused the cause of the Council of Five Hundred, experienced the wrath of the three victorious directors: forty-two journals were suppressed, and all the persons concerned in their publication transported.

From that moment the French Republic was no more; and the Directorial authority resembled the last Roman triumvirate. Little, however, did the guilty and imbecile directors imagine, that they were only the pioneers of Buonaparte. On the return of the general to Paris, he was received with the most enthusiastic applause. All ranks and parties in the state vied with each other in extolling him. His own demeanour was extremely cautious and prudent. He affected to live retired; to avoid all occasion of exhibiting himself to the people, or lending the aid of his powerful talents to the support of any particular party. In domestic and social life, his manners were decent and regular. By adhering to this wise system, he acquired an ascendancy which no general of the Republic had yet attained.

In consequence of the rupture of the two negotiations for peace attempted by the British Government, an immense army was assembled on the northern coasts of France, to which the pompous denomination of *the army of England* was given, and the supreme command confirmed to



Buonaparte. Rafts were constructed, flotillas of gunboats occupied the harbour, vapouring proclamations were published; in short, the farce of invasion was kept up to the last moment, under cover of which the Directory conceived the romantic idea of establishing a military colony in Egypt, with a view of striking a deadly blow at our Indian empire.

It would be idle to expatiate on the monstrous injustice of this scheme, so far as it respected the Ottoman Porte. Egypt, which, under the government of the Caliphs, and during the reign of the illustrious Saladdin, had resumed some part of her ancient splendor, had become a province of the Turkish empire, and had again fallen into that abject and miserable condition from which the Scriptures have prophesied it shall never emerge. The weakness and corruption of the Divan had reduced the real authority of the Grand Seignor in Egypt to a venerable shadow. The powers of government were executed by the Mamelukes, originally slaves from the mountains of Caucasus; their numbers were continually recruited by importations of their brethren, and indeed of all Mahomedan nations, also in a state of slavery; so that Egypt presented the singular aspect of a two-fold administration. Still, the paramount authority was acknowledged to reside in the Grand Seignor, and the French government was guilty of a flagrant breach of the law of nations, in invading the territory of a state whose sovereigns had, from the time of Solyman the Magnificent, shown a peculiar predilection for the French nation. But the injustice of the scheme was more than equalled by its absurdity. It is well known that Egypt possesses no timber fit for ship-building; nor, indeed, any species of naval stores; that the coast of the Red Sea is deficient in harbours fitted for the reception of a powerful fleet; and that no artificial means could, without a long concurrence of the most favourable circumstances, supply this radical defect. Moreover, the entrance into the Red Sea by the Persian Gulph, through the straits of Babelmandel, is not only extremely difficult, from the number of shoals which nearly choke up the passage, but it is commanded by the barren

island of Perim, which, once seized and fortified by the English, with the assistance of their powerful navy, would hermetically close the navigation of the Red Sea against every force proceeding from Egypt. The march by land to the banks of the Indus, across Arabia, Syria, and Persia, was still more chimerical; but the view of this question which now more nearly concerns us, is, that this very expedition, in its consequences, effected the ruin of the Directory, and the exaltation of their general to the Government of France.

The base and grovelling tyrants who composed the Directory had rendered the very name of freedom, as connected with any measure which emanated from themselves or their agents, perfectly detestable. Guided only by a thirst of plunder, the armies of the nominal Republic, spread over the surface of Italy and Switzerland, resembled mere hordes of robbers, rather than brave and gallant soldiers, as they unquestionably were; whilst the devouring avarice of the Directors absorbed the largest portion of the booty. Intoxicated with the abuse of power, they forgot that, by a necessary re-action, all the nations whom they had oppressed, would naturally look up to their powerful neighbours, the Austrians, for protection and vengeance; and at the time when their best officers and the flower of their troops were employed upon a distant, dangerous, and insulated expedition, the Emperor of Russia was concerting measures with the German monarch, to aid him in an inevitable war, with all his disposable forces. At the risk of incurring the charge of prolixity we have hazarded these observations, that our readers may the more readily understand the importance of the Egyptian and Syrian campaigns of Buonaparte.

Every thing being at length prepared for this ill-starred expedition, on the 10th May, 1798, the conqueror of Italy embarked on board the *L'Orient* of 120 guns. The strength of the squadron was suited to the importance and difficulty of the enterprize; and consisted of 13 sail of the line, 4 frigates, and 400 transports, conveying an army of 40,000 men, the *élite* of that host which had dictated an ignominious treaty to the

Emperor of Germany, within 90 miles of Vienna. There were also attached to it a great number of the most distinguished *literati* in France, and an immense collection of philosophical instruments. On 26th June the fleet arrived off Gozzo, a small island dependant on Malta, and Buonaparte, who had previously resolved on the capture of Malta, was secretly rejoiced when the Grand Master of the Order of St. John refused permission to the armament to take in water and provisions. Impregnable as the fortifications were to any external force, Buonaparte commenced his attack under the fairest auspices. A strong party amongst the knights had espoused French principles; the garrison was extremely weak, and entirely unprepared for resistance. Dissensions prevailed between the knights and the inhabitants. Anarchy, terror, and treasons perplexed the councils of the Grand Master. In eight days, therefore, the island capitulated, and Buonaparte issued a proclamation, from which it would appear that he had exported to the east those tender mercies which he had so frequently lavished on the Italian nation.

Having left a garrison of 4000 men in Malta, the expedition departed for Egypt. On 27th June the fleet being then within sight of the beach of Alexandria, Buonaparte issued a proclamation exhortatory to his soldiers and marines, and on 2d July a debarkation was effected.

Several other proclamations were issued on this occasion. These documents speak for themselves; and after every reasonable allowance has been made for the gross ignorance of the people to whom they were addressed; their natural and necessary antipathy to the infidels who had so unprovokedly invaded them; and the total want in every part of Egypt of that vigilant and primitive police, without which neither lives nor property could be assured to their possessors for an hour; after assigning all due weight to these considerations, it must certainly appear that the hypocrisy of Buonaparte on this occasion, was only equalled by his injustice, and dereliction of the law of nations. The French army had soon a foretaste of the sufferings which the profligate ambition



of the Directory had obliged them to encounter. General Desaix, with his division, was ordered to advance on the road to Cairo. Every species of hardship was now experienced by the troops: a scorching sun, a poisonous wind, inflamed sands, dazzling the eye and cheating it at the same time with the illusion of distant water; consuming thirst, raging hunger, and the impossibility of diverging for a moment from the column, without being exposed to assassination by the Arabs, who hovered around it. "Such resting found the soles of unblest feet."

The division of Desaix was followed by the main body of the army; it being determined to proceed through the Desert. On 10th July they arrived at Rahmaniech, having skirmished on the route with a party of 800 Mamelukes, who were easily discomfited.

On quitting this station, however, the Mamelukes prepared for a more decided opposition at the village of Chebreisse, where they had assembled to the number of 4000. As they consisted wholly of cavalry, the French army was drawn up in squares by divisions, having the baggage in the centre of the squares, the artillery on the flanks, and the grenadiers formed in platoons. The Mamelukes advanced without the slightest attempt at order, at full speed, and endeavoured to penetrate into the rear, and upon the flanks of the army: they were received on their near approach with a galling and destructive fire from the squares, which soon compelled them to retreat, after losing 600 men. The French then advanced against the village, which was easily forced; and the Mamelukes fled towards Cairo. During the struggle, an action took place between a small flotilla, which had been equipped by order of Buonaparte, to proceed up the Nile, and co-operate with the army on its advance to Cairo, and a squadron of Mameluke boats. At first, the Mamelukes so far succeeded as to gain possession of, and plunder two vessels of the flotilla; but the superior science, not the superior bravery, of the French prevailed: the vessels were retaken, and the naval armament of the Mamelukes entirely defeated: in this



contest, however, a portion of the baggage of the Republican army was irretrievably lost.

After this victory the troops pursued their march, harassed continually by the Arabs, and having their communication with Alexandria entirely cut off. The villages which they successively reached were abandoned; neither men nor cattle were to be seen; the soldiers lay upon heaps of corn, although they had no bread to eat; they were equally destitute of animal food, and subsisted only upon some lentils, and a kind of thin cakes, which the soldiers made themselves by bruising the corn.

This reception was well suited to the deserts of an army that had been guilty of all sorts of excesses and cruelties. The inhabitants of the country through which the French troops marched, impatient for revenge, destroyed all the stragglers that came in their way; and Buonaparte, who appears, on this as well as on similar occasions, to have treated with a dangerous contempt the strongest feelings of human nature, instead of conciliating the people by maintaining a strict discipline among the troops, substituted the military principle of terror; and one village, which had distinguished itself by its active hostility, was pillaged and burned without the least ceremony.

If it be contended that the four *castes*, or nations, namely, the Mamelukes, Arabs, Copts, descendants of the ancient Egyptians and Turks who together inhabited Egypt, were barbarians, and that consequently they could only be ruled by the sword, we appeal from this ferocious maxim to the soundest principles of ethics; the testimony of general history, and, in a more especial manner, the experience of the British army in their transactions with the same people.

Pursuing his route to Cairo, Buonaparte met with the two Mameluke Chiefs, Murad Bey and Ibrahim Bey, with 6000 of their followers, besides Arabs and Fellahs, (the agricultural peasantry,) assembled to resist his progress. At the village of Embaba, the Mamelukes no sooner perceived the army than they formed upon the plain, in front of his right

an appearance so imposing had perhaps never yet presented itself to the French : the cavalry of the Mamelukes were covered with resplendent armour. Beyond their left were beheld the celebrated pyramids, of which the imperishable mass has survived so many empires, and braved for more than thirty centuries the outrages of time. Behind their right was the Nile, the city of Cairo, the hills of Mokattam, and the fields of the ancient Memphis.

When Buonaparte had given his last orders, "Go," said he, pointing to the pyramids, "and think that from the height of those monuments forty ages survey our conduct." The armies, impatient to come to an action, soon closed with each other ; and the Mamelukes were speedily overcome. The village of Embaba was then attacked, and carried at the point of the bayonet. Fifteen hundred Mamelukes perished in the field, or were drowned in the Nile ; 40 pieces of cannon, 400 camels, and the baggage, stores, and provisions in the camp fell into the hands of the conquerors. The latter were particularly acceptable ; the French army having for fifteen days subsisted on vegetables without bread. The personal booty was immense ; the horses of the slain Mamelukes, the splendid armour of their masters, and the contents of their well-lined purses, in some measure consoled the troops for their former privations. This battle was followed on the succeeding day, 23d July, by the surrender of Cairo upon capitulation ; and the conquest of Lower Egypt was accomplished. By the term *conquest* is here to be understood, not a peaceful domination secured by the faith of treaties ; not one exercised over a population gained by kindness, clemency, and good faith ; but a military occupation of the most important positions ; the communications between which required to be maintained and established by a cordon of flying troops. Still, it must be admitted, that the immediate objects of the Egyptian expedition seemed to have been attained ; and, considering the nature of the country, its destructive climate ; the harassing description of the warfare with the Mamelukes and Arabs ; and the intense sufferings of the French army from the want of provisions,

water, and secure places of repose, after its fatigues and losses ; the military reputation of Buonaparte, which the results of the Italian campaigns had already exalted to an equality with the renown of the most eminent commanders who have at once astonished and plagued mankind, was increased rather than diminished. .

We have now to contemplate this extraordinary man in a novel and trying situation. Cut off from all communication with France, and reduced to depend upon the resources of his own powerful mind, which were incessantly called forth to oppose not only natural difficulties, but domestic and foreign opposition, the fleet of Lord Nelson, which had actually reached Alexandria three days before the arrival of the French armament, and, upon false intelligence, had proceeded from thence to Rhodes, and afterwards towards Sicily, having received more correct information, returned to the bay of Aboukir, where it had found the French squadron at anchor. On the 1st August was fought the decisive conflict which annihilated the French squadron, insulated the French army, electrified all Europe, cemented a new and more formidable coalition against France, and contributed, with other brilliant achievements, to place Lord Nelson in the same niche in the temple of glory as Andrew Doria, De Ruyter, Van Tromp, and Blake.

In the mean time fortune favoured the enterprizes of the French army. Murad and Ibrahim Bey, the Mameluke chiefs, had divided their forces soon after the battle of Embaba. The former proceeded towards Upper Egypt, and the latter towards Syria, rallying in his retreat 4000 Mamelukes, and expecting to be joined by a still greater number.

Against Ibrahim Buonaparte marched, and soon obliged him to retire ; after which the French general retraced his steps to Cairo. It was after his return that Napoleon held that famous conversation with the Mufti and Imans of Cairo, in a flattened vault of the pyramid called Cheops. The tone of arrogance he assumed on this occasion was unwarrantable ; and



he would hardly have dared to address in that style any but the most ignorant and debased of the species.

We must now return to the operations of Desaix's division, which was attacked at the village of Lediemar, in Upper Egypt, by a force of Mamelukes, headed by Murad Bey. After the battle, which was fierce, the French, although the advantage was on their side, still remained in a situation of considerable danger. The real utility of many of Buonaparte's schemes would, but for the dishonourable nature of the expedition, and the habitual severity of his government, entitle him to particular commendation.

The commerce which had for ages been carried on through the medium of caravans between the central part of Africa and Cairo, had languished, from the ferocity of the Arabs, the exactions of the Mamelukes, and the disorder which pervaded every branch of the administration. The powerful aid of Napoleon was extended for the protection of the merchants; and this trade, so beneficial and interesting to the inhabitants of Egypt, in a great measure revived. The *savans* who accompanied the army were detached upon services immediately connected with the branches of science they professed; and Buonaparte meditated a journey to Suez to explore, in person, the vestiges of that famous canal, the formation of which had successively engaged the labours and excited the curiosity of Cambyzes, Alexander, and the Ptolemies, when his attention was recalled to a nearer interest. This was no other than the insurrection at Cairo on the 21st October; in which it is extremely probable that the French were themselves the first aggressors, and misconstrued, or chose to misinterpret, the assembling of the inhabitants for a religious ceremony into a rebellious movement. Pursuing the same system of terror which had rendered him so formidable and detested in Italy, Buonaparte assembled his troops, cannonaded the streets with grape-shot, forced open the gates of the mosques, the principal of which, and other stations of the insurgents, were set on fire, and massacred a great number of the people. Having thus put his iron curb into the mouths of



his subjects, the French General proceeded to anticipate the attack which impended upon him on the side of Syria. Ibrahim Bey had withdrawn with his treasures to Djeddar Pacha, at Acre, who had received him with the greatest cordiality, and made preparations for the invasion of Egypt, as a prelude to which, he had taken possession of the Port of El Arish, in the neighbourhood of Suez.

Having, with his usual energy, completed his preparations for the Syrian campaign, and with his wonted foresight garrisoned the most important positions in his rear, and stationed the remainder of his troops in such a manner as to ensure the subjection of Egypt during his absence, Buonaparte set out, accompanied by a force of about 10,000 men. The first operation was the capture of the Fort of El Arish, garrisoned by 2500 troops of Djeddar. The attack of this fortress lasted from the 6th to the 20th February, 1799, when the garrison capitulated. The conquest of El Arish was a point of the first importance to Buonaparte. It was like the ancient Pelusium — the key of Egypt on that side. The army then proceeded, and suffered inconceivably during a march of sixty leagues over burning sands, with a very scanty supply of water. Having at length passed the desert which divides Egypt from Palestine, the army advanced to Gaza, of which they took possession, with all its magazines and stores. From thence they marched to Jaffa, a strong and very important place in the direct road to Acre, and garrisoned by a great number of Turkish soldiers, in which a train of artillery, sent to Djeddar by the Grand Seignior, was deposited. The siege commenced, but was of short duration. Jaffa was carried by storm, and the whole garrison, more numerous than the French army, was put to the sword. Circumstances of the most aggravated and atrocious cruelty and breach of faith attended this infamous massacre. The following account is given by Mr. Buckingham of this transaction in an interesting volume of Travels in Palestine, recently published. Describing a visit to Jaffa, Mr. B. remarks:

“The fact of Buonaparte’s having murdered his prisoners

in cold blood had been doubted, from the mere circumstances of the consul having omitted to mention it; though he had not been once questioned as to the point. This, however, I was resolved to do; and, in reply, we were assured by this same consul's son, Damiani, himself an old man of sixty, and a spectator of all that passed here during the French invasion, that such massacre did really take place, and twenty mouths were opened at once to confirm the tale.

“ It was related to us that Buonaparte had issued a decree, ordering that no one should be permitted to pass freely without having a written protection bearing his signature; but publishing, at the same time, an assurance that this should be granted to all who would apply for it on a given day. The multitude confided in the promise, and were collected on the appointed day, without the city, to the number of ten or twelve hundred persons, including men, women, and children. They were then ordered on an eminence, and there arrayed in battalion, under pretence of counting them one by one. When all was ready, the troops were ordered to fire upon them, and only a few escaped their destructive volleys. A similar scene was transacted on the bed of the rocks before the port, where about three hundred persons were either shot or driven to perish in the sea; as if to renew the deeds of treacherous murder which the men of Joppe had of old practised on the Jews.”

The character of Buonaparte has been powerfully assailed, and but weakly defended, for this atrocious act. After making allowance for mutual misrepresentation, the plain facts of the case appear to be, that no capitulation was sought or granted; that among the garrison were many Turkish troops who had been taken prisoners at El Arish, and dismissed on their parole. These troops having been taken in arms before they were exchanged, had forfeited their lives to the conqueror, by all the established laws of hostility in civilized countries. The remainder of the garrison not having capitulated, although innocent of the breach of faith imputed to their companions, were, however, like them, by the strict construction of the

laws of war, entirely subject to the disposal of Buonaparte. But the assassination in cold blood, of helpless women and children, who had congregated under his especial pledge, that they should be permitted free egress from the city, was a deed which deserves the abhorrence and deprecation of the latest posterity. The plea of expediency, (which is the excuse of all tyrants, and which could not, by any possibility, apply to the murder of at least one-half of the victims of Buonaparte's ferocity,) can never be admitted in extenuation of a butchery like this, even if there were just grounds for advancing it. It has been affirmed, however, that most of the garrison were destroyed three days after the fortress had been entered, and all opposition had ceased.

To proceed with our narrative. After the capture of Jaffa, the French army passed on to Acre, without encountering any material opposition. In the middle of March they arrived at a *plateau*, which overlooked the tower of Acre; so celebrated in the time of the Crusades, and now equally distinguished as being the first place in the career of Buonaparte, at which his genius received a decided rebuke. At the commencement of this famous siege, Buonaparte was for the first time opposed by a British officer, and encountered by British troops and sailors; and here he was completely foiled in an enterprize in which, had he succeeded, it is not improbable that he might have continued his victorious march to the shores of the Dardanelles. In an early part of the siege, the flotilla, containing the implements Buonaparte intended to have employed in the reduction of Acre, was captured. In this emergency he was obliged to use only field-pieces; and a breach apparently practicable, having been made in a tower in the line of attack, the French grenadiers attempted to storm it, but found themselves unexpectedly stopped by a deep ditch, which they were unable to scale, and where they were exposed not only to a galling and destructive fire from their enemies on the margin of the ditch, but to every species of missiles showered on them by the troops in the tower. In fine, the gallant conduct of our countrymen prevailed. The



attack was unsuccessful, and the operations were relaxed in consequence of the departure of Buonaparte from the camp, with a force amounting to 4000 men, to oppose an army of 30,000 men, badly armed, equipped, and disciplined, which the emissaries of Djezzar had raised in different parts of Syria. With this handful of troops, Buonaparte, discomfited, by a combination of masterly manœuvres, the motley host of his enemies, upon a line of nearly thirty miles on the side of Damascus, and upon the fords of the river Jordan. Having thus secured his flanks, he returned to the siege of Acre. It was peculiarly fortunate for Djezzar that Buonaparte was thus occupied, for during the interval of his operations against the mountain tribes, the English flotilla, under the command of Sir Sydney Smith, was blown off the coast; but on its return, formidable additions were made to the works of Acre. On the other hand, the French Admiral Perrée had arrived with three twenty-four, and six eighteen-pounders, and a supply of ammunition, which enabled Buonaparte to resume offensive operations with increased vigour. Breaches were repeatedly made in the outworks, which were attempted to be stormed by the French grenadiers, who behaved with unexampled gallantry. The defence was obstinate as the attack. The amphibious genius of Sir Sydney Smith, equally adapted to naval and military operations, was eminently displayed upon this occasion. After a severe struggle the French were driven off with great loss. Still, however, Buonaparte persevered, and on 7th May made a desperate assault upon a ruined tower, which he succeeded for a time in carrying. They were again repulsed, and after a severe struggle, finally compelled to retreat with a very considerable loss. Thus, Buonaparte had from this hour failed in the principal design of his expedition, the capture of Acre, and with it the conquest of Syria; and it only now remained for the French general to avail himself of a decent excuse for abandoning the siege altogether. The necessity of providing for the approaching attack upon Alexandria, and the disturbances which took place in some Egyptian provinces, owing to the rapacity of

the French soldiers, who were also collectors of the revenue, furnished Buonaparte with the pretext he stood in need of.

The retreat of the French army to Cairo was painful and humiliating to the haughty conqueror of Italy and Germany. Harassed continually on a march over burning sands, the sick accumulated in number, and in inveteracy of disease. It was during this retrograde movement that Buonaparte directed the invalids in the hospital at Jaffa, whose cases were deemed incurable, to be poisoned. It would lead us too far from the important subjects which will soon engage our attention, to enter minutely into an examination of the evidence on which the imputation of this flagitious act rests. It is sufficient to observe, that Napoleon did not deny giving the order to the physician to destroy the sick; but he insisted that it was executed, and designed only to be executed, in a very few instances; that the invalids could neither be removed nor cured; that to have left them alive would have been to have exposed them to the murderous fury of the Turks; and moreover, that regard for the safety of the French army induced him to issue the order. Ascribing in fairness all the weight that may be justly due to these considerations, viewed in the only light in which Buonaparte has been accustomed to regard his public actions, namely, that of political expediency, no argument is necessary to prove, what the spontaneous impulse of every man's heart must teach him, that the meditated assassination of those brave and unfortunate men, by the very commander who had benefited by their services, is a stain upon the character of the individual which not all the splendid achievements of the hero can obliterate. It was one of those deeds which can only be contemplated with horror and execration.

The retreat of the French army was signalized by acts of unrelenting vengeance. It appears that during the siege of Acre, the convoy and couriers were intercepted on their way to and from Cairo. Wherever these outrages (perhaps acts of just retaliation,) had taken place, pillage and conflagration spoke the wrath of Buonaparte.

In the mean time Desaix had pursued his march into Upper Egypt until his arrival at Cosseir, a port in the Red Sea, where he found a British armament; the apprehension of an attack from which constrained him to act on the defensive. Buonaparte did not long remain at Cairo. He received information that the indefatigable Murad Bey was advancing with a corps of Mamelukes towards Suez; that the movement was combined with the march of a body of Arabs; and that every thing portended an immediate invasion from Europe. With his usual energy he immediately proceeded to Rahmanieh, chasing Murad in his retreat. On his arrival at Alexandria, the French general learned that a force of 15,000 Turks had landed at Aboukir; that they had begun to entrench themselves, and that the fort had already surrendered. Summoning from every part of Egypt the whole of his remaining disposable force, Buonaparte proceeded to Aboukir, and after a short *reconnoissance*, decided upon attacking the enemy. The forces of the Pacha were drawn up in two lines, the second of which occupied a very strong position. The first line was attacked and routed after a short but spirited conflict. The second, whose *point d'appui* was the fortress of Aboukir, made a brave and even desperate defence. The second line of the Turkish army having gained, as was imagined, a considerable advantage over the French, was so imprudent as to quit the intrenchments and precipitate itself upon the enemy. The eagle eye of Buonaparte discerned this capital error, by which he immediately profited. While the Turks were opposed in front, a division of the French army penetrated by a short circuit into their rear, and attacked the intrenchments, which were speedily carried. A charge of cavalry completed their defeat. Broken and dispirited, unable either to fight or fly, those who escaped the bayonets of the infantry and the sabres of the cavalry, rushed into the sea, where the greater part of them perished within sight of their comrades on board the Turkish squadron; who were too distant to lend them any succour. Mustapha Pacha, the Turkish general, with 2000 men, the tents, baggage, and 20 pieces of cannon, were



taken: 2000 men were killed, besides those who were drowned. A very few days only elapsed, when the fort of Abonkir surrendered. Thus the French army was left without any enemy in the field except the predatory hordes of Arabs and a few Mamelukes; but notwithstanding the brilliant victory of Aboukir, the penetration of Buonaparte soon discovered that the expedition had in reality failed. His army was decreasing daily by the combined influence of the sword and the diseases peculiar to the climate. The destruction of the French fleet exposed them to successive invasions. Their very triumphs threatened and almost insured their final destruction; for no reinforcements could be expected from France, nor any recruits raised in the country, upon whom it was possible to depend. Revolving these considerations, Buonaparte meditated two important measures; his own return to France, and the evacuation of Egypt by the French army. In the former of these resolutions he was determined by the intelligence he received of the reverses of the republican armies in Europe, as well as by the golden hope that he might seize the helm of the vessel of the state, already in danger of foundering from the folly, ignorance, and profligacy of its pilots.

We cannot afford space in this memoir to detail the great events which occurred in Europe during the absence of Buonaparte: we shall merely notice, that the Directory having entirely crushed the liberties of the Republic, now only a phantom, spread their troops over Switzerland, the Roman States, and Naples, with the sole view of finding employment for the soldiers, and enriching themselves. Their domestic administration was oppressive, yet weak, corrupt, and desperately wicked, without the grandeur of energetic vice. Thus the government of the Republic became odious and contemptible to the last degree.

Having directed two frigates to be secretly prepared in the roads of Alexandria, Buonaparte embarked with Berthier, Marmont, Murat, and other of his generals, 23d of August, 1799. The command of his army had been previously consigned to Kleber. The usual good fortune of

Buonaparte attended him during the voyage: he escaped from an English squadron of seven ships. On 16th October he landed safely at Frejus, in Provence, and proceeding to Paris, was every where received on the route with enthusiasm; and, upon his arrival, the chiefs of all the factions implored his powerful succour.

The dissolution of the Directorial government had been long planned; and the execution of the scheme, with the rank of first magistrate of the Republic, had been successively offered to Moreau and Joubert. The former was dismayed at the magnitude and peril of the enterprize. Joubert, a zealous republican, declined it upon principle. Buonaparte was less scrupulous; he zealously entered into the conspiracy; and so great was the abhorrence in which the Directorial administration was held, that there was hardly a man in France who did not secretly long for its overthrow.

The first measure adopted, was to appoint a private meeting of a part of the Council of Ancients, to whom an outline of the intended revolution had been communicated November 9th, 1799, (and who nominated Buonaparte commandant of the armed force of Paris;) and resolving to adjourn to St. Cloud, confided to him the execution of their mandate. The first use he made of his new appointment, was to invest the garden of the Thuilleries with a strong body of troops; and his next, to compel the resignation of those of the Directory who would not co-operate with him. The Council of Five Hundred had a stormy discussion under the presidency of Lucien Buonaparte, who, taking advantage of the tumult, adjourned the assembly. At night strong patrols of troops paraded in the public squares and streets of Paris. Curiosity and hope predominated in the minds of the multitude. A revolution was evidently preparing, but the situation of the country was such that it was hailed as a blessing. At length, on the memorable 10th November, the troops took possession of all the avenues leading to St. Cloud at a very early hour. The Council of Five Hundred, in which were many Jacobins, commenced their deliberations. The influence of the conspirators over this

assembly was inconsiderable, but few of the members were acquainted with the real motives of this extraordinary session. Accordingly many propositions were made and carried directly adverse to their designs; amongst others, an oath was tendered to each member, of fidelity to the constitution. Alarmed and irritated, Buonaparte repaired to the Council of Ancients, and addressed them with considerable vehemence. He subsequently entered the council room of the Assembly, accompanied by a few grenadiers, all unarmed. His presence increased the tumult to phrensy. In vain did Lucien attempt to exert his authority as president. The danger of his brother increased momentarily, and he was only rescued from immediate death by the grenadiers, who finally carried him out of the saloon. When Napoleon had withdrawn, several members proposed to outlaw both him and Lucien, and the situation of the latter became so perilous, that Buonaparte, after haranguing the soldiers, and receiving their assurances of fidelity and attachment, caused the door of the saloon to be opened, and rescued his brother, who immediately repaired to the Council of Ancients.

And now the last scene of this singular drama took place. Napoleon, availing himself of the outrage offered to his own person, gave the division a command to clear the council-room, which was accordingly occupied in a moment by soldiers with their fixed bayonets. The *pas de charge* was beat; and after some vain efforts on the part of certain members to convert the troops, they precipitated themselves out of the windows: their situation was rendered more painful and ridiculous by the scorn and abhorrence of the spectators below, who beheld them tumbling over each other in their endeavours to escape. The Council of Ancients, apprized of these events, appointed a temporary commission of three members, who were to replace the Directory. In the evening this assembly again met; a decree was passed in the Council of Five Hundred, designating the names of the new consular committee, as it was termed, namely, Buonaparte, Sieyes, and Roger Ducas; degrading from the station of members of the council



those persons who had most furiously opposed and threatened Napoleon; and appointing a committee of twenty-five members of its own body, in conjunction with an equal number of delegates from the Council of Ancients, who were to represent the two councils, and in concert with the consular committee, to prepare and digest a new plan of government. In this decree the Council of Ancients readily concurred, and a proclamation was issued, wherein the inherent vices, of the old constitution, and the ruinous effects of those vices were strongly and truly stated; and a flattering picture drawn of the millennium which was to follow, under the auspices of the consular government. Thus the edifice of the Directorial power crumbled into ruins without one struggle (excepting that in the Council of Five Hundred) being made for its support; it fell without exciting the slightest sympathy, because it deserved none.

It cannot be fairly denied that although the administration became essentially military, and therefore in its principle and system of action, despotic; the most valuable portion of the liberties of the French nation, namely, security for persons and property, seemed to be better defended under the new than under the former *régime*.

Buonaparte, having out-manœuvred his colleagues, was nominated Chief Consul; with Cambaceres and Le Brun as second and third consuls. The new constitution was at length promulgated; the whole executive authority was vested in the First Consul, his companions in office possessing only a consulate voice. Such was the position of affairs in the French capital.

In Egypt, Kleber, the general whom Buonaparte had left in command of the army, had obtained considerable advantage over the enemy, and the conquest of that country was in a fair way of being achieved, when, in the midst of the most flattering anticipations, the French general was assassinated by an Arab. Menou, the renegade, succeeded to the command; discontent prevailed among the officers, and insubordination among the soldiers. Thus the army was vanquished by its intestine divisions, before its destiny was sealed by the British

expedition. But we must now proceed to give some account of the memorable campaign of 1800.

The French army in Germany, strongly reinforced, was entrusted to Moreau. An army of reserve was stationed at Dijon, provisionally commanded by Berthier. Its destination was kept a profound secret. So happily was its station selected, that it long remained a matter of speculation whether it would proceed to Germany, Italy, or be amalgamated by detachments, with the armies already serving in those countries. The announcement that it was to be commanded by the Chief Consul, attached to its movements a degree of importance, which rendered the operations and successes of the other armies matters of comparatively trivial moment. At length the veil of mystery was partially withdrawn, and Buonaparte, having arranged every thing at Paris, set out in the beginning of May to join the army, which had proceeded to Geneva.

It is here material to observe, that the Austrian troops in Italy were divided into two powerful columns, one of which menaced the southern frontier of France, under the victorious General Melas, the other, commanded by General Otto, prosecuted the siege of Genoa. The position of the French army, supposing it could proceed in a right line to the southward, enabled it to interpose between these columns, and presented the chance of attacking either of them singly, with superior forces. To accomplish this object, the Chief Consul directed the army to advance to the mountain of St. Bernard, scale that rugged height, and descend into the plains of Lombardy, by a route never attempted by an army, at least in modern times. The passage of the mountain being happily accomplished, the army proceeded towards Piedmont. Aoste, a considerable town in the *debouchés* of the Alps, surrendered; the fortress of Bard offered a much more formidable resistance; its situation rendering it almost impregnable. This obstacle surmounted, several towns of more or less importance were captured, among which was Romagna, which contained abundant supplies of provisions and military stores. Buonaparte here, by a mas-

terly feint, completely deceived the Austrian generals. Whilst two divisions of his force menaced Turin, the remainder proceeded to the eastward, on the road to Milan, and were thus enabled to effect a junction with a division of the French army in Germany, amounting to nearly 20,000 men, which the manœuvres of Moreau had enabled him to detach to the succour of the First Consul. By this separation of his troops Napoleon was enabled to distract the attention of the Austrian commander, keep him in ignorance of his designs, get possession of the Austrian magazines on the line of the Po, and by a bold and decisive march, interpose his army between Melas and his communication; and oblige the latter to contend, not for victory alone, but for the common necessities of life, wherewith to subsist his troops. Murat commanded the cavalry, and pushed forward on the road to Milan; his approach to which was facilitated by the precipitate retreat of the Austrians from the fortress of Novarra; the only place of strength between the French army and the point it desired to attain.

Having overcome several obstacles which impeded the accomplishment of his object, Murat crossed the river Tessino at Voltegio, and expelled the enemy from the opposite shore; he was soon followed by the Chief Consul; and the road to Milan being entirely cleared, Buonaparte entered that city, where he was received with great demonstrations of respect by the people. For his popularity on this occasion, however, he seems to have been indebted less to his own merits than the detestation in which the Austrian Government was held. Hence the favours shown to him by the Milanese. Hence the augmentation of his army with the flower of the Cisalpine youth.

Having refreshed his troops by a sojourn of seven days in Milan, and issued proclamations in his usual style to the inhabitants and to the army, Buonaparte resumed the labours of the campaign. The line of march he pursued described a crescent, extending over the country to the east and southward of Milan, and enabling him to capture the Austrian magazines accumulated in Pavia and Placentia. In the neighbourhood of the latter city, at Montebello, a hard contest



took place between the advanced guard of the French army and the troops under General Otto, released from the siege of Genoa, which Massena had been compelled to evacuate. The action continued with alternate success until the next day; but the French were in the event victorious, and the battle was gained with a loss to the Austrians of 6000 prisoners and 12 pieces of cannon.

General Melas was at this time advancing into Provence, scattering his forces, neglecting the passes of the Alps; in short, facilitating, without intending to do so, the French plan of the campaign. Roused from his dreams of conquest, this brave veteran hastily collected his troops, and marched upon Alessandria, with an army numerically stronger than the French, and provided with 15,000 excellent cavalry. Aware that the decisive moment approached, Buonaparte closely watched the operations of Melas, with the greater part of his forces, while detachments captured the Austrian magazines at Brescia, Novi, Macarea, and also cut off their rear.

On 13th June the French army arrived at San Julianò, and the day was spent on both sides in reconnoitering and making dispositions for the important battle, which, on the succeeding day, was to determine the fate of Lombardy. On the morning of the 14th the exchange of musketry at the out-posts aroused both armies. The French, disposed in two lines, occupied the village of Marengo and the *debouché* of a defile towards it, planted with vineyards. The Austrian army was drawn up in three columns on the plains without the village. It consisted of nearly 6000 men, with 80 pieces of cannon. The amount of its cavalry has been already stated. The highest calculation of the French force did not raise it beyond 50,000 men, of whom 3000 were cavalry: they had only 30 pieces of cannon; and it should moreover be recollected, that the reserve of this army, amounting to 12,000 men, nearly a fourth of the whole number, had been detached upon a different service by the First Consul. It followed consequently that until the French reserve could be brought into the field, which was not accomplished before four o'clock,

23,800 men were opposed to nearly 60,000 for eight hours. The action soon became general, and in a short time, most sanguinary. The superiority of the Austrians, not only in the number of troops, but in their artillery and cavalry; and the nature of the ground, favourable to the operations of that army, enabled them to press severely upon the consular troops. Vast numbers of wounded soldiers were brought into the rear. After a long and desperate resistance, the right and left wings began to recede. It was in vain, that the Chief Consul rode through the ranks, animating and rallying the men. The pressure of the Austrians, whose courage elicited, even from their enemies, the highest encomiums, could no longer be withstood. Charges of cavalry, the formation of solid squares of infantry were ineffectually attempted. The centre was compelled to follow the movement of the wings; and the utmost exertions of Buonaparte were required to prevent the retreat of the army from degenerating into a disorderly flight.

The village of Marengo was then taken by main force, and at this critical period of the battle (about three o'clock) there did not remain above 7000 combatants, with 12 pieces of cannon, in a situation fit for action, to resist the strenuous efforts of the Austrian army, flushed with triumph, and anticipating the entire destruction of their enemies; an event which must infallibly have occurred had they been driven from the defile. At this moment the heads of the columns composing the reserve were descried from afar. The hopes of the French began to revive. Still their situation remained in the highest degree perilous; and, in all probability, the arrival of the reserve would only have enabled them to effect an orderly retreat, but for an important error on the side of the Austrian commander. Conceiving that he had subdued the whole French army, and that it only remained to cut off their retreat, he extended his line with a view to surround the position at the head of the defile, still held with the tenacity of despair by the First Consul. From three to four o'clock the time was occupied in making dispositions for the attack by

the French reserve; and during this period, whole ranks of the Republicans were swept away by grape-shot. At length, the preparations being completed, the divisions of the reserve rushed from the defiles and precipitated themselves on the Austrian centre; the remainder of the army re-formed, and advanced once more into the field. The irruption of the reserve, composed entirely of fresh troops, led on by the brave Desaix, was irresistible; the village of Marengo was, in a moment, recaptured, and the hostile centre pierced. The example of this phalanx of heroes acted electrically upon the rest of the army. The Austrians, whose ranks were disordered, attempted to retrieve the fortune of the day. Their second line presented a formidable resistance, and the bayonet was the weapon almost exclusively employed; but a brilliant charge of cavalry by Murat; the capture of an entire column of 6000 men by a force of 300 horse, under the younger Kellerman; the explosion of a powder waggon in the midst of the Austrian columns, and a movement of the Chief Consul, which turned one of their wings, decided the fate of the day. The Austrian army fled, closely pursued by the French. Numbers were drowned in the Bormida. If the battle was murderous to the French, who lost at least 8000 men, it was still more destructive to the Austrians; their loss was reckoned at 15,000 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners, and 26 pieces of cannon.

This loss, heavy as it was, might have been retrieved, had not Melas been entirely surrounded. In front was the victorious army of Buonaparte; in his rear were the united forces of Massena and Suchet, amounting to nearly 20,000 men; on his right flank hovered the division of General Thureau, which menaced Turin. The troops had lost their magazines, and in a few days they must have perished with hunger had they failed to effect a passage through their opponents. Moved by these weighty and distressing considerations, Melas sent an officer to the head-quarters of Buonaparte, who negotiated with Berthier the terms of an armistice, which was of course sufficiently unfavourable to the vanquished.



In this manner was the fate of half Lombardy decided in a campaign of about twenty days. Had Napoleon been defeated in the battle of Marengo, his army would unquestionably have been destroyed, as there was no possible means of retreating.\* After the armistice, the Chief Consul repaired to Milan, and spent a short time in re-organizing the Cisalpine Republic. On 25th June he passed on, by way of Turin, Mount Cenis and Chamberry, and arrived at Lyons on 28th. He was received with the greatest distinction. All France was intoxicated with the splendour of his achievements.

The anniversary of the revolution was celebrated with great pomp at Paris on 23d of September; when the standards taken in Italy, and at the battle of Marengo, were presented to the government. The speeches of the Chief Consul on that occasion, and in reply to a committee, whose object was to entreat his acceptance of some signal mark of the public gratitude, are striking, and develop his sagacity and self-government, before prosperity had emboldened him to throw off the mask of disinterestedness.

In Germany the career of Moreau rivalled the brightness of Buonaparte's fame. We cannot afford space to follow him in his various movements. Suffice it to remark, that after several bloody battles, he was enabled to accomplish that part of the plan of the general campaign which required him to detach a powerful division of his troops across the mountains of Switzerland, to co-operate with the army of reserve in Italy. It is not possible for us, in a work like the present, to enter into particulars of the German campaign. We can only mention, that finding himself reduced to a situation of the greatest

\* On this occasion we cannot feel much surprise at the personal activity and bravery of Napoleon. Like Richard III. in the field of Bosworth, he knew that *all must be staked*. "The glare of a courage thus elicited by danger (observes an able modern writer,) where fear conquers fear, is not to be compared to that calm sunshine which constantly cheers and illuminates the breast of him who builds his confidence on virtuous principle; it is rather the transient and evanescent lighting of the storm, and which derives half its lustre from the darkness that surrounds it."

peril, the Emperor Francis sued for an armistice, by which he surrendered the three fortresses of Ulm, Ingolstadt, and Phillipsburg, and left the French army in undisturbed possession of the whole of Suabia and a part of Bavaria.

Thus relieved for a time from the operations of war on the continent, Buonaparte had leisure to coquet with the allies in respect to the conclusion of a general peace. It was clearly his interest to treat with each power separately, and, therefore, negociations for a maritime truce were conducted in this country between Mr. Hammond and M. Otto; but which proved abortive; Buonaparte insisting upon advantages which could be neither safely nor honourably conceded. With Austria he appeared for a time to succeed better; and preliminaries of peace were actually signed by the Austrian plenipotentiary on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio; but they were disavowed by the Emperor. Buonaparte found leisure also to court the Emperor Paul, who, disgusted with the sequel of the Italian campaign under Suwarrow, and capriciously incensed at the British Government for some alleged irregularities as to the representations which had been made of the conduct of the Russian troops in the expedition to the Helder, in 1799, not only withdrew from the coalition, but entered into an intimate correspondence with the First Consul, who, by personal flattery, the influence of French agents, and, above all, the charms of a French mistress, (Madame Chevalier,) gained as great an ascendancy as it was possible for address like his to acquire, over the boisterous passions of so complete a barbarian.

In the midst of these occupations, Buonaparte still continued to promote the internal prosperity of France; and amidst other ameliorations which distinguished this period of his government, effected one important and salutary improvement, the equalization of weights and measures. He also revised the list of emigrants, and restored to their native country not only individuals, but entire classes of persons.

Whilst thus engaged in projects that could not fail of benefiting his country, an attempt was made to assassinate

him, as he was going to the opera in his carriage, December the 6th, by means of the explosion of the celebrated infernal machine, in a narrow street. His preservation was almost miraculous; but the circumstance left upon the mind of the Chief Consul the most unfavourable impressions. It aroused in his bosom the fierce and gloomy passions which had slumbered, or been effectually concealed by his policy since his assumption of the consular power. The conspiracy furnished the Government with a pretext to establish arbitrary tribunals, called *extraordinary commissioners*, which superseded the functions of juries in all cases of a public nature, affecting the security of the administration, thereby placing the lives and liberties of the citizens completely within the grasp of the First Consul. Thus, by an arbitrary decree, the most celebrated and obnoxious of the terrorists were banished to Cayenne without the form of a trial.

The *coteries* formed by Madame Buonaparte, were selected with as much care as in established sovereignties is shown to the admission of visitors to a royal or imperial drawing-room. In fact, every step privately taken by Buonaparte, had reference to the great object of his desires, — the assumption of the imperial diadem.

We should digress too far from our main object, were we to enter into a detail of the northern confederacy, as established by the Emperor Paul, at the probable instigation of Buonaparte, formally acceded to by Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, and which at the close of the 18th century, threatened the very existence of Great Britain by its formidable navy, as the assertion of the principles which it advocated struck at the root of her highest maritime prerogatives. To preserve our narrative unbroken, we must anticipate the natural order of events, by stating that the ferocious violence of the Emperor Paul, and the resolution of Denmark to adhere to the principles of the confederacy, produced the expedition to Copenhagen, in April, 1800, in which Lord Nelson acquired laurels that would of themselves have conferred immortality upon any other commander, but which could hardly exalt a



reputation already above that of any other seaman since the days of Blake.

The assassination of Paul, and the accession of the Emperor Alexander, destroyed the confederacy, and deprived France of a most important aid.

We have already mentioned that the Emperor Francis refused to ratify the preliminaries agreed to by his minister. Notice was, therefore, given in the usual form of the rupture of the armistice, and when it expired Moreau attacked the whole line of the Austrian army, not with a view to produce a decisive action, but merely to ascertain the vulnerable points of the enemy's line, and make his dispositions accordingly. In this attack he was repulsed, but on the next day, 2d December, was fought the great battle of Hohenlinden. The Austrian army was commanded by the Archduke John, and was divided into columns, which advanced to the attack of the French lines; but it did not escape the experienced eye of Moreau, that intervals were left between the columns in the line of their march, of which he dexterously availed himself, and penetrating between the centre and wings, destroyed the connection of the different divisions; thus placing them between two fires. The result was the defeat of the Austrians, with the loss of about 10,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 80 pieces of cannon, and the whole of their baggage. This was the last great event of the campaign. The Austrians, driven from one position to another, were incessantly and vigorously pursued by Moreau. Their army, diminished by every encounter, and thinned by constant desertions, lost its spirit, and very nearly its discipline. In vain was the Archduke Charles recalled from that obscurity to which he had been reduced by a despicable faction in the councils of his brother. The great talents, however, of this eminent commander could not retard the victorious march of the French; and the Austrian monarchy was only preserved from destruction by the convention of Steyer, concluded within 90 miles from Vienna. The terms of this armistice were of

course sufficiently favourable to the French. This treaty was subsequently extended to Italy.

The treaty of Luneville, between the Emperor Francis and the Republic, was now organized, and Great Britain was left alone to struggle with France. Such were the peculiar circumstances of the two powers, (decidedly at that time the greatest in the world,) that, with abundant inclination on both sides, no serious injury could be inflicted by either upon the other. The old menace of invasion was revived, gun-boats were collected in the ports of Normandy and Picardy, and large bodies of troops marched down to the sea coast. Attempts were made to destroy the enemy's flotilla, but with little success.

Conformably with the policy which had distinguished the French and Spanish branches of the House of Bourbon at the close of the war, terminated by the peace of Versailles, in 1763, Buonaparte projected and executed the invasion of Portugal through the medium of Spain. The contest was unequal, and the event such as might have been anticipated, — the humiliation of Portugal at the feet of the allies.

We must now briefly notice the progress of the war in Egypt. We have already mentioned the discontent of the army with their general, Menou, and the relaxation of its discipline. A powerful expedition, commanded by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, sailed from this country to expel the invaders. A landing was with considerable difficulty effected on 8th March, 1801. A battle took place at Nicopolis; but the decisive blow was struck by the British in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, where the gallant Abercrombie ended a life of glory, by a death of triumph. Foiled in all his attempts to penetrate the British lines, Menou returned to his original position with great loss. His troops were more numerous than those of his opponents, and were besides inured to the climate; but with ample means of presenting a protracted resistance, the French general was deficient both in talent and resolution. Cairo and Alexandria surrendered; and the

French army returned to their own country upon capitulation. This great event, the most brilliant achievement of the British arms since the days of Marlborough, removed the most important difficulties in the way of a general pacification. A negotiation had been on foot some months between M. Otto and Lord Hawkesbury, (now the Earl of Liverpool,) which had been very nearly broken off; it was, however, finally ratified, and the preliminaries of peace signed 1st October, 1801. By this famous convention, France recovered all her colonies, and retained possession of all her conquests, with the exception of Naples and the Roman State provisionally occupied by her troops.

It is hardly necessary to add, that although in this country the terms of the preliminary treaty were severely and vehemently condemned by Lord Grenville's party, it was received in France, (as indeed it had been welcomed by the great majority of the nation here,) with enthusiastic demonstrations of joy.

At this period Buonaparte had attained the true meridian of his greatness. France, enlarged to the extent of her empire, compact in her territories, increased in her population, secure in a strong, and not at that time tyrannical, government; an object of terror to her ancient rival, Austria; and of respect to her competitor, Great Britain; and by the restoration of her colonies, enabled to assume some importance as a commercial nation; was placed in a most brilliant and enviable situation among the nations of modern Europe.

Buonaparte, having accomplished the signature of the preliminary treaty with Great Britain, had now leisure to execute a design, which it is probable he had harboured since the battle of Marengo; this was no other than the assumption of the sovereignty of the Cisalpine Republic, under the specious title of President for ten years. To effect this scheme, the notables of the Cisalpine Republic were summoned to attend the Chief Consul at Lyons, whither Buonaparte repaired on 11th January, 1802, leaving Earl Cornwallis, the British ambassador, in Paris. The Consulta having been duly



instructed how to play their part, the requisite honours were conferred upon Napoleon; not satisfied, however, with the sovereignty of the Cisalpine, or, as it was now denominated, Italian Republic, the new President, about this period, concluded a treaty with Spain, by which she added Louisiana to France, with Parma and the island of Elba; the two last upon the demise of the reigning Duke. By another treaty, Portuguese Guiana was ceded to France; a tract of country of great extent. General Thureau was also deputed to take possession of the Valais, with a view to its incorporation with France. Alarmed at these rapid assumptions of power, the British government signified to Buonaparte that he must now turn his attention to the negociations with Lord Cornwallis, which had been verbally suspended some months. They were accordingly resumed, and produced the definitive treaty of Amiens, signed 25th March, 1802.

Immediately upon the signature of this document, Buonaparte sent from Brest an armament with a considerable body of troops on board, commanded by his brother-in-law, General Le Clerc, to accomplish the subjugation of St. Domingo. Of this expedition we shall only observe, that on its arrival at Cape François, it was vigorously opposed by the negro general Toussaint L'Ouverture, who, after a short but most harassing warfare, in which the climate destroyed great numbers of the French army, surrendered upon conditions; and tranquillity was for a short time restored. The subsequent imprisonment of Toussaint upon a false and frivolous pretence, alarmed and incensed the blacks. The war was renewed, and assumed on each side the most savage and ferocious character; but the guilt of the first aggression, as well as of the first acts of inhumanity, decidedly rested with the French, the miserable remnant of whom, exhausted by frequent conflicts, and without the hope of succour, surrendered to the negro general, Desalines, (afterwards the Emperor of Hayti,) and a British naval force. But to return to the subject of our memoir.

In order to conciliate the people of France by enlarging the prerogatives of the Gallican church, as well as to restrain the

usurpations of the Roman Pontiff, and place him completely in his power, Buonaparte wrested from the Pope the celebrated *Concordat*, with the purport of which our readers are doubtless well acquainted.

This event, so important, and upon the whole, so beneficial to France, was celebrated by the performance of High Mass at the cathedral of Notre Dame. On this occasion Buonaparte assumed the state of a monarch: his carriage was drawn by eight horses superbly caparisoned; the *cortège* which followed him was remarkably brilliant, and included a number of servants in superb liveries, although in direct violation of a law passed in the time of the former republic. Soon afterwards Buonaparte still further extended his lenity to the emigrants, by a formal decree, which restored many of that unfortunate class of people to their country, and enacted a new order of privileged persons, who were styled the Members of the Legion of Honour. This body consisted of individuals eminently distinguished for their public services: they were divided into classes of respective merit.

Having thus concluded peace on the most favourable terms with all the enemies of France; established a vigorous government in every branch of its administration; fostered agriculture; endeavoured to encourage commerce; patronized the fine arts; established toleration; restrained the turbulence of faction; elicited order from a chaos of misrule, and recalled victory to the French standard; Buonaparte deemed the favourable moment arrived when he might openly assume the power, but not the title, of an hereditary monarch. With this impression, after some political coquetry with the senate, he was graciously pleased to accept the title of Chief Consul for life, with the power of naming his successor! The situations of his colleagues in the consulate were also rendered lifehold. He was gratified with the privilege of adding forty members to the senate; and his power, already too great for his own security, (infinitely greater than was consistent with the liberties and happiness of the people,) was still further increased, so as to render him the absolute master of his adopted country.

This point being carried, he had leisure to concert with the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, the plan of what was called the German Indemnities; that is, the desolation of all the minor states of the empire; the robbery of the weak, and the aggrandizement of the strong. In the execution of this enterprize, Buonaparte acted with peculiar severity to Austria, and created an interest among the German princes, the effects of which, in a few years, increased and aggravated the desolation of Europe. And now ensued a transaction which may be considered as one of the immediate causes of the rupture of the treaty of Amiens. This was the invasion of Switzerland by France, upon the plea of quelling the factions which agitated that beautiful country.

It appears that a new constitution had been recommended to the Swiss people by the French government. The promulgation of this constitution gave rise to an immediate insurrection, in which Schuytz, Uric, Underwalden, Glaris, and other cantons, distinguished themselves by their opposition to the French party. The insurgents prevailed for a time, obtained possession of Berne, and endeavoured to induce the great continental powers to support them. A powerful army, however, soon enforced Buonaparte's commands; deputies were convened from the different cantons, and ordered to Paris, where, under the eye of the Chief Consul, they formed a new constitution for the Swiss, which was soon afterwards promulgated; and as its execution could not be opposed, it was submitted to by the people, whom Buonaparte treated with greater indulgence than any other vassal power. We must here remark, that the independence of Switzerland had been stipulated for in the treaty of Luneville: an armed and mandatory interposition in their affairs by Buonaparte, was therefore an open breach of that treaty, and afforded a pretty clear indication of the forbearance he was disposed to show, when the lust of power, caprice, or any other cause, tempted the violation of a compact he had entered into with a weaker party.

The arbitrary acts of the Chief Consul, and more immediately the invasion of Switzerland, called forth the most pointed



censure of his conduct and principles, from the greater part of the press of this country. On the proud and inflexible mind of Buonaparte, these rebukes wrought powerfully. Acrimonious and insulting passages appeared in the *Moniteur*, the avowed official paper of the French government, in which these writers were identified with the British administration. Angry representations were made through the French ambassador, which, as their object was to impose restrictions upon the press, hostile to the spirit of the British constitution, could not be complied with. While this correspondence was rapidly indisposing the two governments towards each other, Colonel Sebastiani, an officer sent by the Chief Consul to the Levant, returned from his mission; and his report was published, in which, after many absurd exaggerations, he drew such a picture of the state of Egypt, and of the facilities which would attend a present invasion of it, that the jealousy of Great Britain was naturally and justly aroused.

From the operation of various causes, the order of the Knights of Malta was rapidly hastening to its dissolution. The establishment of knights of different countries were suppressed: difficulties occurred in procuring the guarantees stipulated in the treaty of Amiens, for the independence of the Island and of the Order; which, combined with Sebastiani's report, and the public indignity offered to Lord Whitworth, the English ambassador, by the First Consul, in a conversation he held with him at one of his levees; induced our ministry to issue an order for the investment of Malta, and a precautionary armament to secure its detention.

Complaints also were made, that although the Chief Consul issued severe decrees against the importation of British manufactures into France, and declined to enter into a commercial treaty, he had nevertheless sent over to the principal seaports in England and Ireland persons designated as commercial commissioners, but who were, in fact, engaged in taking soundings, and drawing plans of the fortifications of the different harbours.

Matters were now hastening to an extremity. Security

was sought from, and refused by, the French Government for its various usurpations in Europe, to which Piedmont was now added. After a feverish armistice of somewhat less than a year, war was proclaimed between the two countries. The declaration of the British Government on this occasion, and the observations on the King's message to parliament; the reception of the negotiation which appeared in the *Hamburgh Correspondent*, and the *exposé* of the state of the Republic in 1804; are too well known to render it necessary for us to particularize them in this place.

The first measure adopted by Buonaparte on the renewal of hostilities, was a decree to imprison all the English then in France, from the age of eighteen to sixty, on the ground, that two merchant vessels had been captured by two English frigates before a declaration of war. This order was a breach of the laws of hospitality, and of the customs of all civilized nations; it was equally distinguished for its cruelty and impolicy, and has been universally and most deservedly reprobated.

The attention of the First Consul was soon diverted to nearer objects. A conspiracy against his government was formed by Georges a Vendean, General Pichegru, and some other individuals of less note; with the knowledge, as it was affirmed, and consent of General Moreau. These persons were arrested, tried, and found guilty. Georges died on the scaffold. Pichegru was found strangled in prison, whether by his own hands or by some assassin, employed with the knowledge and approbation of the French Government, is a problem which remains to be solved. A similar obscurity hangs over the fate of Captain Wright, who was taken prisoner while landing some agents of the Royalists in Brittany, and conveyed to the Temple, where there is little doubt of his having been murdered, in all probability by the secret mandate of Buonaparte.\* It is for such crimes as these that the

\* On the trial of Moreau, Captain Wright, of the English navy, then a prisoner of war in France, was sent to Paris to be examined; but he declined answering any questions. Napoleon appeared to consider that Captain Wright was acquaint-

name of Buonaparte has been, and will for ever continue to be branded with the blackest dishonour.

Moreau was pardoned on condition of his exiling himself to America, whither he soon after repaired. The defection of a man so eminent for his military talents, and so estimable for his private virtues, alarmed Buonaparte; but the state of apparent insecurity in which it placed him, afforded a decent excuse for his assumption of the imperial title, an honor which was confirmed upon him by the faint votes of the senate and the legislative bodies. His brothers, Louis and Joseph, were created princes. The empire was declared hereditary in his person, and descendible, according to the Salique law, from male to male, to the perpetual exclusion of females and their issue.

The dignities of arch-treasurer and arch-chancellor of the empire were conferred upon the two ex-consuls, Cambaceres and Le Brun. The most distinguished officers were created marshals; and a new constitution given to the empire, as unfavourable to public liberty as any which had preceded it. A magnificent civil-list was appointed; and, finally, to give a greater *éclat* to this important measure, the aged Pontiff was obliged to cross the Alps, to anoint the new sovereign of France and his consort, the Empress Josephine, on 2d December, 1804. In the beginning of the ensuing year Napoleon addressed a letter to the King of Great Britain, containing overtures for peace. To this letter Lord Mulgrave returned a cautious and suitable answer. The correspondence closed here.

We now come to the most daring violation of public law and justice of which even Napoleon had been yet guilty, and

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ed with persons in Paris who were in correspondence with the British Government; and it is positively asserted, that after the trial, the most cruel tortures were applied to him, such as screwing his thumbs, and rubbing the soles of his feet with lard, and then putting them upon hot copper plates. It is further affirmed, that they afterwards cut off an arm, and then a leg, and then told him that he was now unfit to return to his native country, but that he should be taken care of if he would confess all he knew. This the gallant Wright refused to do: he was soon after strangled, and conveyed from the Temple in the dead of the night.



which has been received with general execration ; we mean his seizure of the Duke d'Enghien, son of the Duke de Bourbon, by surprise, in the neutral territory of Baden, upon a charge of being actively engaged in plots against the French Government. This unfortunate youth was hurried to Paris, tried immediately by a court-martial, and condemned to be shot on the same evening by torch-light, in the wood of Vincennes. No sophistry can palliate the enormity of this murder, at the foulness of which every generous and noble heart must feel the strongest indignation.

Another violation of neutral territory was exhibited in the seizure of the person of Sir T. Rumbold, the British minister at Hamburgh, also by military violence, who was sent to France, and imprisoned for a short time ; but subsequently released at the intercession of the King of Prussia. The outrage of the seizure and assassination of the Duke D'Enghien, which amounted on the part of the French Government to an abjuration of the laws of nations, excited the warmest feelings of resentment in the Emperor Alexander, who, through the medium of his ambassador, D'Oubril, not only remonstrated against so unprecedented and scandalous a proceeding, but also insisted upon Napoleon's adopting, in concert with him, such measures as would place Europe in a state of security. To this peremptory requisition a decided negative was given, and all diplomatic correspondence between the two governments entirely ceased. Napoleon, unable to wreak his resentment upon this country in any effectual manner, (for the sailing of a small squadron from Rochefort for the West Indies, which levied some contributions, and captured a few merchantmen, does not deserve the name of an exception,) resolved to renew his threats of invasion. For this purpose he built an incredible number of small vessels at Boulogne and other convenient stations on the French coast ; whither he marched a very large army. The attack of these divisions in their progress, with various fortune, furnished continual employment to the smaller vessels of the English navy. It is now known that Napoleon did seriously meditate a descent, which would certainly have

been attempted, at every hazard, but for the ignorance and incapacity of his naval officers, on whom he relied for assembling such a force in the channel as would have given them, according to his calculation, a temporary superiority. Whilst his preparations were in progress, upon dictating and receiving a suitable invitation from the legislature of the Italian Republic, Napoleon repaired to Milan, where he assumed the iron crown of the ancient Gothic kings of Lombardy; declaring at the same time that after his demise, the crowns of France and Lombardy should never be worn upon the same brow.

While these imperial and royal pantomimes were exhibiting, Spain, who had assisted France with her treasures, had now exhausted the patience of Great Britain. The capture of 4 frigates returning from South America with specie, before a declaration of war on the part of this country, converted her opponent's neutrality into open warfare, and hostilities immediately commenced. The indisposition of the Emperor Alexander towards Napoleon, the rapid strides of the new Emperor to the acquisition of the dictatorship of Europe, and the imminent danger apprehended to the liberties of the great commonwealth of states, produced a coalition against France, of which Russia, Sweden, and England were members. Preparations for war were made on the part of Austria, which produced strong remonstrances from Napoleon to that Government. Every thing presaged approaching hostility; but as yet the door of negociation was not entirely closed. Suddenly the Toulon fleet set sail, raised the blockade of Cadiz, and was reinforced by the Spanish squadron, then composing an armament of 18 ships of the line. Had the combined fleet proceeded northward, it was strong enough to have raised in succession the blockade of the different squadrons on the French and Spanish coasts, and thus accumulating its strength, have composed an armada of 74 ships of the line in the channel. Then, and then only, an opportunity might have been afforded of realizing his menace of an invasion; but instead of pursuing this bold and decided measure, the combined squadron proceeded to the West In-

dies, and arrived at Martinique, where it lingered in inglorious inactivity.

It was at this time that Lord Nelson, who, with 11 ships of the line was cruising in the Mediterranean, was apprised of the sailing of the Toulon fleet; but mistaken as to their real object, this great commander, the boast and bulwark of his country, proceeded almost as far as Egypt in pursuit of them. Undeceived with respect to their destination, he followed them to the West Indies; and such was the terror of his name, and the pusillanimity of the French admiral, that in despite of his important numerical superiority, he returned to Europe. On approaching Ferrol, he was encountered by a squadron of 15 ships of the line, under Sir Robert Calder: an action ensued, which terminated at night, and ended with the capture of 4 sail of the line. The remainder of the combined squadron escaped under cover of a dense fog, and of the darkness, into the harbour of Ferrol. Thus ended Napoleon's schemes of invasion; and from that moment he prepared to resist the formidable confederacy which was on the eve of assailing him.

The French troops proceeded to the Rhine. The armies in Hanover and Holland were likewise directed to proceed southward on a line of march vertical to the Danube. On this occasion the allies committed a fatal error. It was generally, but most falsely imagined, that Napoleon was taken by surprise, and that he was unprepared for the conflict; acting under this impression, their preparations were not commensurate, either in extent or celerity, with the gigantic power, and still more formidable genius, with which they had to contend, the Austrian army crossed the Inn, and took possession of Bavaria, which they treated in every particular as a conquered country, levying contributions, and paying for their supplies in depreciated Austrian paper. In the mean time the Electoral troops, amounting to upwards of 20,000 men, had proceeded to Ingolstadt, where they took a position under the protection of that fortress. A gross mistake was here committed by the



Austrian Government. No steps were taken to conciliate the Elector, and he was compelled to submit to the invasion of his dominions from inevitable necessity; but he entered into a close alliance with Napoleon, the bitter fruits of which shortly appeared.

After halting a few days in Bavaria, the Austrian general, Mack, with an army of upwards of 80,000 men, advanced into Swabia, and penetrated nearly as far as the defiles of the Black Forest. Napoleon having made all the necessary arrangements, addressed the senate, ordered the formation of two armies of reserve of 80,000 men each, published a manifesto justificatory of the war on his part, and presented, through the French minister, at the Diet of Ratisbon, a memorial, in which he endeavoured to recriminate upon Austria, departed from Paris, and arrived at Strasburgh the latter end of September, 1805, accompanied by the Empress Josephine.

The French army immediately crossed the Rhine, and advanced by rapid marches to the Danube. Napoleon proceeded to Ludwigsburgh, the residence of the Elector of Wirtemburgh, on 3d October, where he was sumptuously entertained; and when he compelled the Elector to incorporate his troops with the French army. The cavalry of that army, commanded by Murat, pushed its patrols into the defiles of the Black Forest, where they remained in position several days, with a view to deceive the Austrian commander, and lead him to conclude that he would encounter the French army in its front; whereas, by the bold and masterly plan of Napoleon, the points of union of the different corps of his army were to be Dettingen and Donawert; thus interposing a superior force between Mack and the Austrian territory, and rendering a junction with the first Russian army, then rapidly approaching the Inn, impracticable. In prosecuting this design, Napoleon crossed the Danube at and above Donawert, and spreading the forces under his immediate command to the southward, occupied a line so as to bear immediately on the flank and rear of the Austrians in the vicinity of Ulm. In the meantime Murat attacked and defeated a division,

consisting of 12 Hungarian battalions, proceeding from the Tyrol, on the left or northern side of the Danube. This detachment was completely routed with the loss of 4000 prisoners, their artillery, baggage, and 8 standards. The corps under Ney assailed the strong position of Guntzburg, and the line of the bridges connected with it. The action here was obstinate and sanguinary, but the French prevailed, and the Archduke Ferdinand was compelled to retreat to Ulm, with the loss of upwards of 3000 men. Having so far succeeded in his plans, Napoleon detached Bernadotte, with the corps under his command, reinforced by the Bavarians, to the Inn, to observe the Russian army, now increased by the addition of some Austrian troops. Bernadotte was enabled to take up a strong position on the banks of the river, holding the allies in check, and preventing them from taking any measures to avert the catastrophe which menaced the army under Mack.

Thus secure from all assaults in his rear, Napoleon vigorously pressed the Austrians, who were constrained to relinquish the outworks which defended their position at Ulm. After a most gallant opposition on 11th October, Soult having proceeded to Meiningen, surrounded it, and the garrison, composing a great part of the left wing of the Austrian army, capitulated. Pursuing his victorious career, he advanced to Biberach, whither the Archduke Ferdinand had retired; and, understanding that he had quitted that place for Ulm, Soult took possession of the pass of Bregentz: the result of these combined manœuvres was the complete investment of the army under the immediate orders of Mack. The Archduke Ferdinand, who foresaw the inevitable destruction of this corps, separated himself from his ill-fated comrades, and, with a considerable force, took the road to Franconia. He was closely pursued by the divisions under the order of Murat and Lannes, who compelled General Werneck, with a force of 12,000 men, to surrender; but, after losing the greater part of his artillery, the Archduke, with the wreck of his gallant army, sought and found refuge in the mountains which separate Bohemia from Franconia. The situation of Mack

became hopeless. Every prospect either of successful resistance or escape was at an end, and he was now menaced with a general assault on his works, which were incapable of being defended. In this extremity he agreed to capitulate, first stipulating, that he should remain unmolested until 25th October, and afterwards consenting to the surrender of his army on the 20th, provided that the corps under Ney should not advance beyond ten leagues from Ulm until the 25th. As it was the design of Napoleon to detach Ney's corps, get possession of the Tyrol, and menace the rear of the Austrian army in Italy, he readily assented to this condition; and on the 20th, the troops immediately under the command of Mack, marched out of Ulm, with the honors of war, depositing their arms on the glacis. Their number exceeded 30,000 men. On this occasion Buonaparte, collecting the principal Austrian officers, addressed them as follows :

“ Gentlemen, your master wages an unjust war: I tell you plainly, I know not for what I am fighting; I know not what can be required of me; my resources are not confined to my present army. Those prisoners of war, now on their way to France, will observe the spirit which animates my people, and with what eagerness they flock to my standards. At a single word 200,000 volunteers crowd to my standard, and in six weeks become good soldiers; whereas, your recruits only march from compulsion, and do not become good soldiers until after several years. Let me advise my brother the Emperor, to hasten to make peace. All states must have an end; and in the present crisis he must feel serious alarms lest the extinction of the dynasty of Lorraine should be at hand.” Much more of the same exulting nature passed upon this occasion, which terminated with these memorable words: “ I desire nothing further upon the continent; I want ships, colonies, and commerce; and it is as much your interest as mine that I should have them.”

In this manner was the ruin of the finest army which ever Austria brought into the field completed; and had Mack possessed ordinary talents and resolution, although it is probable



that the superiority of force, and still more, the ascendancy of talent, would have enabled Napoleon to conquer, he must have paid dearly for his advantage; and time might have been afforded to the Government of Austria to develop somewhat of that energy, which, in circumstances even yet more critical, enabled Maria Theresa to triumph over her enemies.

In Italy, many actions were fought in which the victory was obstinately contested. The Austrian forces in that quarter were commanded by the Archduke Charles; the French, by Massena. Slowly, and contesting every inch of ground, the Austrians withdrew: their heroic commander, although constrained to retire under circumstances of great difficulty, conducted his retrograde movements with the greatest regularity, and with but trivial loss. He was not followed by Massena beyond the frontier of Carniola.

But whilst Napoleon, at the very commencement of the campaign, had exalted his military reputation to the zenith of glory, a purer, and therefore a brighter, splendor illumined the last moments of Nelson. The combined fleets which had escaped from Sir Robert Calder, in the vicinity of Ferrol, proceeded to Cadiz, where, united with the Spanish vessels in that harbour, they composed a force of 33 ships of the line. Lord Nelson having missed the enemy in the West Indies, and, on his return, searched for them in vain in the harbour of Cadiz, had proceeded to the north-west coast of Ireland, and finally to Portsmouth. His Lordship did not long remain in this country; but, on his arrival off Cadiz, received the command of the British Fleet from Lord Collingwood. He then practised a stratagem to allure the enemy from the harbour. In the face of day he detached Admiral Lewis, with 6 sail of the line, upon a separate service, thereby reducing his squadron to 20 sail of the line. Villeneuve fell into the snare, and in an evil hour for his country, sailed out of the harbour to offer battle on the 21st October. The action lasted four hours, but the spirit of Nelson seems to have animated every sailor in the fleet: the victory was glorious and decided, leaving in the hands of the conquerors, 20 ships. The annals of naval war-

fare do not record a more splendid achievement under such numerical disadvantages; but the price paid for the victory was deeply regretted. In Lord Nelson the country lost the phoenix of her defenders; in him was centered every great and exalted quality, the union of which constitutes an accomplished commander.

Sir Richard Strachan was the gleaner in this harvest of glory: he captured four of the remaining ships, and the miserable wrecks of the combined squadron were placed for a long period *hors de combat*. Napoleon had incurred, or seemed to have incurred, the resentment of Prussia, by violating the neutrality of Anspach, when the army under Bernadotte traversed it in direct opposition to the strongest remonstrances of the Prussian administration.

The King of Prussia was at length prevailed on by the allies to do every thing they could desire, except to act! The fate of the war depended evidently upon his decision; but the ministers of that monarch seemed determined to sell the co-operation of their master to the highest bidder: they resolved to share the prey, keeping aloof from the combat. Napoleon, to provide for every extremity, had ordered the division under Augerau, to traverse France from Brest, and take up a position near the Lake of Constance, to watch the movements of the Prussians. Such was the relative situation of all parties, when Napoleon proceeded by rapid marches to the Inn.

The Austrian and Russian armies, which hardly amounted to 70,000 men, did not, indeed could not, offer any effectual opposition. The river being passed, the main body of the French marched with the utmost celerity on the road to Vienna, expelling the allies from every position they attempted to occupy, enfeebling them by successive losses of men, artillery, and baggage. Still no general action was fought, the allies being unwilling to hazard an encounter, the consequences of which might have been so irretrievably disastrous. Whilst Napoleon was thus driving his enemies before him on the left bank of the Danube, he detached a considerable force

to the right bank, with the design of anticipating the allies in their intended retreat upon Vienna; but the division was attacked by superior forces, and compelled to cross the river.

On the 11th November the advanced guard of the French army arrived before Vienna, which city obtained favourable terms from the victor. By a most dishonourable stratagem, Murat, pretending that an armistice was concluded, prevailed on the Austrians to spare the principal bridge, over which the army immediately passed in pursuit of the allies.

Having organized a provisional administration for Upper and Lower Austria, and made such arrangements for the security of his flanks and rear as circumstances would admit, Buonaparte quitted Vienna on the 15th November to rejoin the army which had marched into Moravia, whither the allies had retreated. At Hollebrunn, Murat and Lannes came up with the rear guard of the allies, and captured some baggage. It was now that Napoleon's own base stratagem was retorted upon himself. An aide-de-camp of the Emperor Alexander presented himself at the out-posts of the French army, and demanded time for the Russian army to separate from the Austrians and capitulate.

Murat was deceived; and the Russians gained all they wanted, — time to enable them to retire in an orderly manner. The next day, however, they were attacked at Guntersdorff, and driven from the field with the loss of 2000 prisoners, 12 pieces of cannon, and some baggage waggons. Napoleon then removed to Brunn, the citadel of which capitulated; and now ensued a pause in the military operations. The reinforcements which the Russians expected, had joined them, and much diplomatic finesse was practised on both sides. Napoleon, understanding that the Emperor Alexander had arrived, sent General Savary to compliment him: that officer remained two days in the Russian camp. The observations which he made, determined the conduct of Napoleon; he affected a strong desire for peace, which he had before refused to the Emperor Francis, but upon insupportable conditions; retreated to some distance, took up a strong position in the rear, which he carefully for-



tified, receiving Prince Dolgorucki, whom the Emperor Alexander had sent to him at the advanced guard. Briefly, every measure was adopted which could induce the allies to believe, that he shunned, because he dreaded, a battle.

On the other hand, the Russian army had neither provisions for the men, nor forage for the horses, neither had they any commander capable of opposing Napoleon. Necessity urged them to become the assailants; accordingly, on the 1st December they commenced an offensive movement, directing their march in separate columns, avowedly with the design of turning the flank of the French army: to this movement Napoleon made no opposition whatever; on the contrary, the cavalry under Murat retired, and at night the allies occupied a strong position in front of the French army, but separated from it by very difficult ground, which prevented an advance from that position in columns, preserving a continued connection with each other. The forces of the two armies were nearly equal, amounting, on both sides, to about 80,000 men; they were equal also in courage; in every other military quality the Russians were much inferior to the French army.

In the evening of 1st December, Napoleon issued a proclamation, in which he told the troops, that the Russian army, which they had before beaten at Hollebrunn, and which had then fled before them, had now ventured to return, in hopes of revenging the defeat of the Austrians at Ulm. This, however, he assured them would be in vain; for the French army now occupied so formidable a position, that if the allies dared to advance to the attack of the right, as seemed to be their intention, they must inevitably expose their flank to the French columns in that direction. As for himself, he promised to be every where, and to direct the movements of all the columns; at the same time pledging himself, that if victory should for a moment become doubtful, he would in person expose himself in the front of the battle. Victory, however, he considered so certain, that he pledged them his word, that this should be the last action of the campaign, after which a peace should follow, which would be worthy of France and of himself.

Nor were the allied generals neglectful during this interval ; they were equally upon the alert in making their dispositions for the ensuing day. It is said, however, that the imperfect knowledge which they possessed of the positions of Napoleon's army, though little more than a musket shot distant, rendered the suppositions upon which the plan of attack was arranged, extremely indefinite. It was believed that Buonaparte had weakened his centre considerably for the reinforcement of the left ; whilst, under the idea that the Russian left had far out-flanked his right wing, they imagined that by passing the defiles of Kobelnitz and Sokolnitz, they should turn his positions in that quarter, so as to be enabled afterwards to prosecute the attack in the plain between the wood of Turus and the village of Schlapanitz. They also considered that Napoleon's real front was covered by the defiles of Schlapanitz and Bellowitz ; but by the proposed plan, these defiles would be avoided ; and it was also intended that the attack should commence on the right, in order to execute which with the utmost vigour, the valley between Sokolnitz and Zellnitz was to be promptly passed over, under cover of the Prince John of Lichtenstein's cavalry, and the advanced corps of Prince Bragation, which formed the extreme of the allied right.

At length the morning of the 2d December dawned on many thousand eyes, on which the film of death was to descend before the evening, and the battle of Austerlitz commenced. The position of the French army was strong and very compact. The different corps composing it were drawn up in massive columns, ready to deploy or advance when the critical moment arrived. The Russian army was arranged in six columns, of which that forming the centre was the weakest. This error, so fatal to that gallant, but misguided, army, originated in an ignorance of the extent of the position really occupied by the French, and in a presumptuous confidence as to the issue of the battle. From the difficult nature of the *debouchés*, the Russian columns, in proportion as they advanced from their original position, diverged from each other like radii from a common centre. The effect of this derangement

was, that the left of the allies was separated from the centre extremity of the French right wing, where the defile of Tellnitz was vigorously attacked, and obstinately defended. After a long and various struggle; it remained in possession of the allies, who were thus enabled to realize a part of their plan; but in proportion as the allied left wing advanced, a wider interval was interposed between it and the centre of the army. Napoleon saw, and profited by the mistake: a strong column of the army, under Soult, advanced to attack the village and heights of Pratzen; a position which the Russians had occupied before the battle, and which, if gained by the French, enabled them to turn the allies, and render the junction of the left wing and centre an impossibility. At this moment the greater part of the French army advanced in compact bodies, in connection with and deriving aid from each other. A strong contest now took place for the possession of the heights of Blasowitz. The Archduke Constantine ordered a charge by the Uhlans, which Kellerman, who commanded a part of the French cavalry, declining, the troops rushed impetuously, in pursuit of Kellerman, through the interval of the French infantry. They were thus exposed to a cross-fire from two divisions, which discomfited them with great loss. The infantry of the Archduke were completely routed. The movements above described had taken place on the wings of the two armies. We must now attend to the operation of their centres.

We left Soult in advance to the heights of Pratzen, on the possession of which depended the fortune of the day. Prince Kutusoff, the Russian general, who commanded the whole army, and was then stationed in the centre, on his way to attack that of the French, was astonished to find himself opposed by a superior force, when he imagined himself to be the assailant. He immediately determined to recover the heights of Pratzen, and sent for fresh troops: but it was too late; the corps of Soult advanced steadily towards the heights. The Russians then determined upon a general attack, but their fire was opened at too great a distance to do much execution, while, on the contrary, the French fire, re-



served until the moment when its delivery would be most effective, thinned the ranks, and staggered the resolution of the Russians. Soult then rushed forward to the heights, of which he took and retained possession, forming his troops in several lines, and giving them an angular direction, so as to present a double front. The Emperor Alexander accompanied that column of the Russian army which was opposed to Soult, and led his own battalion to attack his right flank; other corps also harassed him; but the position of Soult was strong, and his arrangements masterly: he was enabled to keep the enemy in check, while the inequalities and elevation covered his own troops. Nothing now but a vigorous charge with the bayonet could retrieve the fortune of the day. The Russians, formed into close columns, attempted this desperate manœuvre; but the destructive fire of the French exterminated whole ranks of the assailants; still they persevered, and succeeded in compelling a part of the French line to give way. Soult now ordered a general charge, which repelled the enemy; and his artillery, now brought into line, converted their retreat into a disorderly flight, in which they lost the greater part of their artillery. The battle still raged in other quarters. The possession of the heights of Blassowitz was long and firmly contested; brilliant and effective charges were made with the Russian and French cavalry, in which the guards on each side particularly distinguished themselves; but the French, continually reinforced, gained possession of the heights, although the Archduke Constantine was enabled to retreat in tolerable order. Lannes corps had interposed itself between the columns of Prince Bragation and General Uwarrow, and had obtained possession of a commanding eminence on the road to Brunn. The fire under this officer was so considerable, and directed with such skill, that he was enabled to advance and expel both the Russian columns from the position they occupied, but not without a long and desperate opposition from Prince Bragation.

The heights of Austerlitz, in the rear of the position taken up by the allies before the action, and which position was

now occupied, became the point of union for the scattered remains of the Russian and Austrian columns, but by this movement they exposed the baggage of their army, the greater part of which was seized by the French.

It has been already stated that the position of Soult on the heights of Pratzen enabled him to cut off the communication of those columns composing the allied left wing, which were entangled in defiles, where they could neither receive nor give aid to the rest of the army. It was at this moment, when the French troops had defeated their enemies in every other point, that Napoleon brought up his reserve, which had never yet been engaged, and consisted of 20 battalions, to attack these columns. The operation completely succeeded, and their feeble wrecks, which in the course of the day had lost 10,000 prisoners, with the greater part of their artillery, were obliged to defile along a narrow causeway, exposed to a murderous fire of chain-shot, and leaving behind them the greater part of their cannon. A heavy rain completed their misfortunes. Such is a brief sketch of the famous battle of Austerlitz, which reduced the allied army to one-half of their original numbers. The aggregate of their loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to about 40,000 men, and almost the whole of their artillery, with many standards. The loss of the French must have been very considerable, at the least, 9 or 10,000 men.

Its consequences proved its importance. On the day after the action Napoleon directed different corps of the army to pursue the allies, who, in their retreat, had taken the route to Hungary. They were too much enfeebled to risk another action, and the French army was proceeding to surround them. At night Prince Lichtenstein arrived in the French camp, to treat for a suspension of arms; and the next day an interview took place between Napoleon and the Emperor Francis. Their colloquy was a long one, and in it was doubtless discussed not only the terms of the armistice, but of the treaty to which it tended. The armistice itself was

inscribed with the point of the sword. It secured the communications of Napoleon with the army under Massena, an object of the first importance; enabled the French army to retain all its conquests; prescribed the retreat of the Russians by forced marches; that Austria should engage to discontinue the Hungarian levies; promise not to admit any foreign army into her territories; and also that a diplomatic meeting should instantly take place at Nicholsburg, in order to prepare the definitive treaty: to all these conditions the Emperor was, of course, compelled to assent.

If the armistice was necessary to the allies, it was very convenient to Napoleon, whose rear and flanks were menaced by the forces under the Archduke Charles and Ferdinand. Having carried this important point, the French Emperor found time to listen to the mediation of Prussia, or more correctly speaking, to accept of the apology of her government, and permit her to betray her former friends.

A convention was entered into on the 6th of December for the neutrality of the north of Germany, according to which the British expedition, which late in the autumn had occupied Hanover, and was designed to make a diversion in support of the common cause, was permitted to embark safely.

The next event of consequence was the treaty of Presburg, by which great cessions were made to Bavaria of a considerable part of the Austrian dominions, including the Tyrol and the Venetian territories annexed to the kingdom of Italy. The Elector of Bavaria assumed the royal title with an important increase of territory and population, and the authority and influence of Francis in the German empire was destroyed. Napoleon exercised a signal vengeance on the King, or rather the Queen, of Naples. By a treaty concluded between France and the Neapolitan Government, at the beginning of the campaign, it was stipulated that the French troops, then in Naples, should withdraw, on condition that the ports of that country were closed against the enemies of France. This treaty was broken by the admission of the British fleet into the Bay of Naples, and the debarkation of



a small Russian army. Prompt in executing his resolves, Napoleon issued an imperial patent, creating his brother Joseph King of Naples, and sending a powerful army, under Massena, to establish him on the throne.

The details of this expedition are foreign to our history: it is sufficient to mention that Naples was subdued. Before we turn the attention of our readers from Italy, however, it may be proper to add, that in the course of the preceding year, 1805, Genoa was incorporated with France; another flagrant violation of a solemn treaty. A short time only had elapsed since the conclusion of the treaty of Presburg, before the effects of the convention, signed 13th December, 1806, between Prussia and France began to appear. Prussia ceded Anspach, Neufchatel, and some other possessions of small value to France; in consideration of which she was permitted to occupy Hanover. This she accordingly accomplished, by investing that country with her troops; and finding her scandalous pretensions opposed by the British sovereign, she took formal possession of the electorate, incorporated it with her own territories, and shut the mouth of the Elbe and the Weser against British vessels. The meanness of this proceeding could only be equalled by its impolicy.

Prussia was at this time playing a very dangerous game; by her hostile demonstrations against France, soon after, she offended the proud and lofty spirit of Napoleon beyond the hope of pardon. By violating at once, and in the most flagrant manner, every principle of moral justice, she had indisposed the only ally who could assist her with money; and she also hazarded the loss of the friendship of the Emperor Alexander, upon the preservation of whose amity her political existence depended. Yet this was the moment, when urged by her evil destiny, she hazarded the awful results of a rupture with Napoleon. Her motives were, first, the formation by Napoleon of the celebrated confederation of the Rhine, by which he detached all the princes whose territories were contiguous to that river from their connection with

the German empire, constituted himself their protector, and obliged them to keep, for his service, an army of 58,000 men.

Prussia had stipulated for leave to establish a confederacy of a similar description in the north of Germany, which was now contemptuously refused. The second grievance was, that in the negotiation for peace between France and England, which took place at this period, Napoleon was fully disposed to have given up Hanover, although seized by Prussia, and annexed to her dominions with his consent and concurrence, to the Sovereign of Great Britain, in exchange for a valuable equivalent. This negotiation failed ; but Prussia was apprized of the treachery of her ally, or rather her confederate in guilt, and therefore resolved to enter the lists against Napoleon at a moment when every chance was decidedly hostile to her.

The perfidy of the French Ruler to Prussia in the course of this negotiation has been fully established ; it was equal in atrocity to that which was practised by Prussia towards Great Britain : her hour of humiliation however was at hand. Several circumstances conduced to widen the breach between the two powers ; among which we may notice the arbitrary requisition of Augerau upon the city of Frankfort, to furnish a contribution of 6,000,000 livres ; and the execution, or rather we should say, murder, by the sentence of a French court-martial, of Palm, a bookseller of Nuremberg, accused and condemned for the publication of an alleged libel on Napoleon.

Incensed at these outrages, Prussia commenced preparations for a war with France, and by an act of judicial infatuation, a particular day (the 8th of October) was fixed upon by the government as that on which hostilities were to begin.

The Prussian army, amounting to about 130,000 men, occupied a strong position on the banks of Saale. The French army, which was estimated at 180,000 men, was in Franconia. Napoleon, previous to his departure from Paris, caused a report to be published justificatory of the present war. He then advanced by the route of Bamberg and Wurtsburgh, to

the banks of the Saale; his right wings extended so as to describe a crescent, the horns of which pressed upon the flanks of either hostile wing. This position of Napoleon was selected with admirable judgment; it enabled him to interpose between the Prussian army and Saxony, and, in case of a defeat, cut off the retreat of that army in the direction of Berlin and Magdeburg.

The campaign was opened by an engagement between the corps of the French army, commanded by Bernadotte, and a division of the Prussians, headed by Prince Louis, at Schleitz, in which the latter were defeated, and their prince slain. Another partial engagement took place on the 10th, in which the Prussians were again beaten at Saalfeldt; but the most important disaster was the capture of the great Prussian magazines, an advantage which the French army derived from having completely turned the left wing of their enemy, whose situation was at this time extremely perilous. The conduct of their general, the Duke of Brunswick, who was nevertheless a brave and able tactician, was not as decisive and judicious on this occasion as might have been expected. Remaining inactive in a position almost impregnable if assailed in front, he permitted the French army to assemble its different corps, and to march nearly round his position, without attempting to change his arrangements, or to attack them during the operation, excepting by puny and ineffectual detachments. If these important errors were committed before the battle of Jena, the dispositions of the Prussian army were still more faulty on the eve of that tremendous conflict. They omitted to secure the passes on the high road to Jena, and particularly that of Kofen, which had been so neglected, that part of the French had actually penetrated within 300 paces of one of the Prussian columns, before it was even imagined that an attempt had been made to advance upon them in that quarter. These important positions were speedily occupied by Buonaparte, and so strengthened as to become nearly impregnable.

On the memorable 14th Oct. the two armies engaged. The battle was fiercely contested, but the skill of Napoleon, and the



superior force of his army, prevailed. In vain did the Prussians attempt to regain the important pass of Kofen; in vain did their cavalry, formerly so celebrated, charge the French wings. It is a well-known fact, that such was the distressed state of the Prussian army for provision and forage, that neither their horses nor men had received sustenance for 36 hours. In despite of all these disadvantages before the battle, the Prussians fought with distinguished bravery; but the Duke of Brunswick was mortally wounded towards the sequel of the action, and was carried off the field. From that disastrous moment there was no longer a commander-in-chief. The Prussian corps, nay, every regiment, fought separately in the position they had taken up. The plan of the battle, whatever it might have been, perished with its author, the Duke. In such a situation did the Prussian army remain when Murat (now created Grand Duke of Berg) charged at the head of the cavalry. The attack was irresistible, and the Prussian soldiers fled, preserving neither order nor discipline. The high roads in their rear were filled and blocked up by the baggage, in such a manner as to render it impossible for the fugitives to escape in that direction. The King of Prussia, who had displayed much personal courage in the action, quitted the field, when its fate was decided, escorted by a strong detachment of dragoons, and took the route to East Prussia. The loss of the Prussians was enormous; it is said to have been 50,000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners, more than 20 generals, 300 pieces of cannon, and immense magazines. After the action, 14,000 men surrendered, with Marshal Mullendorf. A great part of the success of the day is to be attributed to the excellence of the French artillery. A Saxon regiment, amounting to upwards of 3000 men, were reduced to a few hundreds in the space of eight minutes, by being exposed during that time to an unmasked battery of grape-shot. Napoleon, before the battle of Jena, had addressed a proclamation to the Saxons, to keep alive their hereditary hatred of the Prussians. After the battle, he dismissed 6000 Saxon prisoners with their officers, and entering into a negotiation with the Elector, that

prince was admitted a member of the Confederation of the Rhine, and his contingent fixed at 20,000 men.

The consequences of the battle of Jena were even more calamitous than the action itself. By disposing different corps of his army in such a manner as to be always in advance of the fugitives, in the direction of the Oder, the natural point of retreat and union for the scattered Prussian divisions, and by pursuing them without affording a moment's respite, he compelled the various bodies of Prussian troops, wandering over the country without concert with each other, or deference to a crowned head, to surrender prisoners of war. At Halle, the reserve of the Prussian army, which, by some fatal blunder had taken no part in the great battle, were encountered and defeated.

Of all those Prussian divisions, or rather fragments of an army, the only one which occasioned any serious inconvenience to the French, beyond the labour of the pursuit, was the force under General Blucher. This illustrious officer, who will hereafter occupy a distinguished part in our narrative, had under him a force of 20,000 men. By exertion almost incredible, and with a degree of military skill which reflects the highest credit upon his talents, he eluded any immediate action with the French corps appointed to subdue him, and inveigled three divisions of the French army (amounting at the least to 60,000 men) to a distance of nearly 150 miles (to Jena). When at last overtaken, and compelled to seek a temporary refuge in Lubec, his spirit animated the meagre and exhausted forms of his followers, who suffered the extremes of hunger and fatigue; nor were they conquered without a desperate action in the streets and houses of this town. But Blucher stood almost alone in this generous devotion to his country. An emulation of treachery and cowardice distinguished the commanders of the different Prussian fortresses, with the exception of those in Silesia. Magdeburg, the strongest citadel in Europe, Spandau, and many other places, surrendered almost without even a decent shadow of resistance. But prosperity had indurated the heart of Napoleon. Whilst we admire (and

in that admiration the latest posterity will unite,) the force and power of the genius which had accomplished such prodigies, we must turn aside with horror from the cruelty with which he repulsed the solicitations that were made to him for the interment of the remains of the unfortunate Duke of Brunswick in the mausoleum of his ancestors; and with contempt from the abject littleness, the grovelling insolence of his conduct to the prostrate courtiers and ministers of the King of Prussia on his arrival at Berlin, which city he entered in triumph the latter end of October.

The occupation of the war did not prevent Napoleon from remembering his quarrel with this country. His troops took possession of Hamburgh, a neutral and independent city, and confiscated, wherever it could be found, British merchandize. It was then he published the famous Berlin decree, declaring the "British islands in a state of blockade." It was his first exploit, in a series of campaigns against our commerce and manufactures. The best practical commentary on this extraordinary and odious proceeding is, that in despite of this and other decrees, still more severe, British commerce continued to flourish, and even to increase to an extent and in a degree heretofore unknown. To secure his communication with France, and to gratify his inextinguishable animosity towards the partizans of England, he cashiered the Elector of Hesse Cassel, took military possession of his states, and compelled him to seek an asylum at Altona. Before he entered upon the Polish campaign, Napoleon declared to the Austrian ambassador at Berlin, that unless the Austrian army immediately evacuated Bohemia, he would consider their continuance in that country as a declaration of war. Intimidated by this threat, the Austrian Government complied, and their resolution was, no doubt, accelerated by the presence of an army of 40,000 chosen troops, which he had assembled in Dalmatia, in the weakest and most accessible part of the Austrian frontiers. An army, which had been assembled on the frontiers of Holland, now advanced to the Elbe, and took possession of Hanover. The commandant of the strong



fortress of Homeln followed the example of his brethren, and surrendered after a slight resistance. It is impossible to review these events without ascribing the capitulation of so many strong fortresses, with such disgraceful celerity, to a corrupt understanding with the officers who were intrusted with their defence. The example affords an awful lesson to all governments, that whenever they openly renounce every principle of good faith and sincerity in their public transactions, they must expect to be exactly imitated by their dependants on any occasion, when their personal interests may appear to them to require the sacrifice and ruin of their employers. All the provinces of Prussia, westward and northward of the Oder, were now subdued; and the King sent a confidential minister to negotiate the terms of an armistice with Napoleon; but the terms prescribed, which amounted to a surrender of all the remaining fortresses of Prussia, including Dantzic, to the westward of the Vistula, were too severe for the King of Prussia, even in his depressed condition, to accede to; and on the 29th November he left Berlin for Posen, where he arrived on the 1st December.

It appears that a considerable Russian force had crossed the Vistula, and were advancing into Prussia, to oppose this army. Napoleon detached three corps to meet them; but the Russians, not conceiving themselves strong enough to maintain their position, retired, evacuating Warsaw, which was entered by the French army.

The propriety of Napoleon's perseverance in an enterprize, to effect which he had to contend against the extraordinary disadvantages of situation and climate, and with a people, too, inured to that severity of cold which was so destructive to the French army, may very reasonably be questioned.

The whole French army having crossed the Vistula, were joined by Napoleon, whose arrival in the camp, was as usual, the prelude to offensive operations. The force of the Russian army is not accurately known, but it was certainly inferior to that of the French.

Hostilities began by an attack, on the part of the French, at a village on the Narew, which a strong corps of Rus-

sians had attempted to fortify; from this entrenchment they were driven, after an obstinate and bloody encounter, and the next day produced the battle of Golzovin. It appears that the Prussians sustained the brunt of this action, which was in fact rather a drawn battle than a victory. The advantage was claimed by both parties; but if we bring their pretensions to the test of geographical evidence, the only criterion by which to judge in a disputable case of this kind, the advantage will certainly be found to have remained with the French, who, at the close of the action, were masters of the field, and claimed possession of the customary trophies of prisoners and artillery. Still the resistance of the enemy was most desperate. We should have premised, that at this period the Russian and Prussian armies were separated; one which had fought at Golzovin, was under the orders of Baxhofden, the other was commanded by Benningsen.

On the 26th December another desperate battle was fought at Pultush: according to the French account, the Russians were defeated, and compelled to retire to a considerable distance. Benningsen, on the contrary, claims the honour of having repulsed Napoleon, and obliged him to retreat. The application of the same rule to which we have above adverted, namely, geographical evidence, would decide the controversy in favour of the French, which is rendered the more probable from their numerical superiority, the excellence of their artillery, and the transcendant talents of their commander. Still it was a very different contest from those of Austerlitz and Jena. The French army suffered dreadfully, not only by the long and furious resistance they encountered, but from the climate. Napoleon had ordered the corps under Marshal Soult to make a *détour*, and assail the Russians in flank: in the execution of this command, the troops waded to their knees in half-frozen mud, exposed to all the inclemency of a violent rain. Napoleon boasted that the Russians had lost from 25 to 30,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 75 pieces of cannon, and 1200 carts with the baggage. His own loss he estimated at 3000 men

in killed and wounded. It is probable that both statements are incorrect, and that Napoleon exaggerated the Russian losses as much as he diminished his own. Still one circumstance cannot be disputed, that the Russian army retired after the action to Ostralenha, about 90 miles from Warsaw, and 25 from Pultush. Napoleon, having made arrangements for placing his troops under cover, (for winter quarters, in the strict sense of the term, could not be procured,) returned to Warsaw, where he busied himself in diplomatic arrangements. But the Russians would not permit him to remain long in a state of repose. The Prince of Porto Corvo had been directed at the latter end of January to skirt the shore of the Baltic and proceed to Elbing, a sea port of East Prussia, where there was a considerable magazine belonging to the combined army.

This movement alarmed the confederates, as it not only menaced Koningsberg, where they had established their chief depôt, but threatened to turn their right wing. The whole Russian army, therefore, broke up from their cantonments, and advanced towards the Vistula. Bernadotte's corps, supported by Ney, was attacked at Motringen on the 24th January, 1807. It is probable that these corps were worsted, although Napoleon did not fail to claim the victory, particularly as the personal baggage of the Prince was captured by a detachment of Russians, who penetrated into the rear. Napoleon immediately digested his plan. The Prince of Porto Corvo had orders to retreat towards the line on the Vistula, allowing the Russians to pursue him in such a direction as to enable Napoleon, with the remainder of his army, to turn the left wing of the Russians, get into their rear, capture their magazines, and give them battle, under circumstances which would have cut off the possibility of a retreat. Had this scheme entirely succeeded, the war would probably have been terminated by the destruction or surrender of the Russian army; but General Benningsen was too experienced a commander to fall into such a snare. Assured that he had Napoleon in person to con-



tend with, he concentrated his divisions. After a rapid march, by which he turned the left wing of the Russians, the first important offensive movement on the part of Napoleon, was to attack the town of Gadstadt, on 2d February, where the Russians had established a great magazine. The action here was long and sanguinary, and heroically contested on both sides; but the superiority of the French forces, aided by a powerful train of artillery, admirably served, compelled the Russians to abandon Gadstadt, which, with the depôts of Aterstein and Liebstadt, fell into the hands of the conquerors. On the 3d February, the French assailed the bridge of Bergfried, a position of great importance to the security of the Russian left wing. Here Benningsen had stationed the flower of his troops. The French got possession of the bridge, but the retreat of the Russians was so ably conducted, that no serious impression could be made in their rear by Marshal Ney: night alone put an end to the battle. On the 4th February, the French continued to advance; the Russians retired slowly, in perfect order, availing themselves of every advantageous position to turn upon their pursuers, and keep them in check. On one of these days, however, a detached Russian column, which had mistaken its road, was surrounded by the French army, and nearly destroyed. It should here be stated, that while these operations were going on between the main bodies of the two armies, a detached division of the French, under Savary, stationed near the confluence of the Berg and Narew, was attacked, and driven from its position by General Von Essen; but the action itself was not of sufficient magnitude to have any immediate influence on the great struggle. On the 7th February the Russian army had retreated upon Eylau, and that day was spent on both sides in making preparations for the great battle which was to ensue on the following day. The Russians occupied a formidable position, one part of which consisted of a rising ground, which commanded the principal *debouché*, by which the French army could proceed to the attack of the Russians. The pos-

session of this height was desperately contested, but it remained in possession of the Russians. They were not, however, equally successful at the village of Eylau, from the church and church-yard of which they were expelled, after a most bloody encounter, which did not terminate until ten at night. Napoleon then made his disposition for the morrow; according to which, the Russian army were to be outflanked on both wings, while the corps of Davoust was to penetrate into their rear.

The battle began at day-break, on the 8th February, by a renewed attack on the eminence, which the Russians so gallantly defended the preceding day. Of this eminence the French finally obtained possession, but not without great slaughter. At the sequel of their attack, the tirailleurs of Davoust's corps opened their fire in the rear of the Russian line, and Augerau proposed to execute his part of the plan, to pierce the centre of the Russian line, which, in that case, (as Davoust was in the rear,) must have been infallibly destroyed; but at this critical moment a heavy fall of snow enveloped both armies in a dazzling obscurity. Augerau's division wandered from the point of attack; the connection between the different corps of the French army was lost, and its columns became insulated.

At this awful crisis Napoleon and his army were preserved from utter ruin by a brilliant charge of cavalry under the Duke of Berg, supported by the imperial guard. The Russian infantry, which had advanced to surround the column under General St. Hilaire, were repulsed with great slaughter; and the battle, which had raged with the greatest fury from five o'clock in the morning until late in the evening, was now restored. The possession of the church-yard and church of Eylau was contested on both sides with the greatest obstinacy; but at length the appearance of Davoust's corps in the rear of the Russian line, compelled them slowly and deliberately to retire.

Thus ended the murderous battle of Eylau, in which, and the preceding action, the French boasted that the allies

had lost nearly 30,000 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and 45 pieces of cannon; while their own loss in the action was diminished to 7000 men.

General Benningsen claimed an important victory; but geographical evidence did not support his pretensions, as, after the battle, he retreated to a considerable distance behind the river Pregel. Indeed, both generals were foiled in their principal aims. Benningsen's plans entirely miscarried, as he was obliged to relinquish all the country between the Vistula and the Pregel. The projects of Napoleon to surround and destroy the Russian army, and capture their magazines, had also only partially succeeded: Königsberg, the great depôt of the Russian army, being effectually covered, and his own troops so enfeebled by losses in the field, and the extreme rigour of the climate, that he was in no condition to resume offensive operations.

After the battle of Eylau, no great operation was attempted on either side. The French army slowly withdrew, assuming a semicircular position, for the purpose of covering the siege of Dantzic. The head-quarters of Buonaparte were at Inkenstein; a situation chosen at once to urge the siege and observe the enemy's line. Dantzic being at last closely pressed, an expedition by sea was attempted for its relief; but the promptitude of Napoleon disconcerted the design, the expedition failed, and the troops composing it were, for the most part, killed or taken prisoners. On 19th May the fortress surrendered. Vast quantities of military stores were found in it, and the army of Napoleon was reinforced not only by the troops which had been occupied in the siege, but also by an immense number of conscripts, who proceeded to him in safety from a distance of 700 miles.

Napoleon was now sincerely desirous of a continental peace, and made overtures during the siege to the Allied Sovereigns, which did not, however, lead to any result, although no attempt had been made by the allied army, which had also been powerfully reinforced, to arrest the fate of Dantzic. Yet no sooner



had it fallen, than it broke up from its cantonments, and assailed different parts of the French position, on some of which they were able for a time to make a serious impression. Napoleon, informed of these movements, quitted Dantzic, and repaired to the army, which he immediately put in motion, and directed to advance. Contrary to what might have been supposed the design of the Russian General, he retreated slowly, and in good order, followed by Napoleon, who entered Gadstadt on the 9th, and on the 10th found the Russian army stationed in advance of, and in the town of Heilsburg, a place which the Russians had carefully fortified during four months, in which they had deposited great magazines, and which they appeared resolved to defend. They possessed a force of 15,000 cavalry, and their rear was protected by 60 pieces of cannon. A warm engagement ensued, which lasted until a late hour in the evening, when the Russians were compelled to abandon their advanced position. The succeeding day (10th June) was devoted entirely to the *reconnoissance* of the enemy's line, and the arrangement of his own troops for the battle he anticipated on the 12th; but in the night, the Russians abandoned Heilsburg, and withdrew in the direction of Friedland and Koningsberg. Napoleon closely followed them, and divided his army into two bodies. The corps under the Duke of Berg, Soult, and Davoust, proceeded towards Koningsberg, while, with the remainder of his forces (excepting his right wing under Massena, then not engaged) Napoleon continued to pursue them.

On the 14th both armies arrived at this celebrated spot, when Benningsen resolved to hazard a battle. His position was strong, and covered by a deep ravine, a thick wood, and the town of Friedland. The greater part of the day was taken up by the French, in making their arrangements, and holding the Russians in check. At length, at five in the afternoon, the preparations being completed, the French began what may properly be called the battle, by an attack on the town of Friedland, by General Marchand's division. In this operation he was resisted by a large body of Russian cavalry,

but was opportunely assisted by the French dragoons under Maubourg, while a battery of 30 pieces of cannon restrained the advance of the Russians in this point. Benningsen then attacked the corps of Ney. The Russian troops charged several times with their wonted courage; but repulsed in each assault, many of the assailants were precipitated into the Aller, and there drowned.

After a bloody struggle, the French advanced to the works which surrounded Friedland, when they were suddenly attacked by the Russian imperial guards, cavalry and infantry, who had concealed themselves in the ravine before mentioned. So impetuous and well-timed was this charge, that the French columns long wavered, and the battle would probably have been lost but for the arrival of a part of the French reserve. These troops retrieved the fortune of the day. The Russian guards were defeated with great slaughter, and Friedland was finally entered by the French.

During these operations in the right wing of the French army, their left, under Mortier, advanced, and, after an obstinate resistance on the part of the Russians, penetrated into the ravine, where, protected by the nature of the ground, they sustained little comparative loss; and on debouching from thence, they were enabled to pierce the centre of the Russian line. No attack on the part of Benningsen upon Napoleon's centre could produce a diversion in favour of his gallant troops combating in Friedland. The Russians retired, and were pursued by the French until midnight. Napoleon asserted that the loss of the enemy on this occasion was from 15 to 18,000 men, and 80 pieces of cannon: 25 generals are reported to have been either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. Those, however, who have had opportunities of becoming acquainted with the gross system of exaggeration pursued by Buonaparte in his bulletins, will qualify this statement very materially. The French loss was estimated by the same *impartial* calculator, at 3500 in killed and wounded; a statement, the total falsehood of which, must, under all circumstances, be sufficiently evident.

Notwithstanding his defeat, Benningsen, the next day, attempted to rally his forces; and the columns of the army that were cut off by the manœuvres of the French, endeavoured to cross the Aller, in which they partially succeeded. After the battle, the French army continued to advance, and the Russians to retire. On the 16th the three corps detached from the French army, entered Koningsburg, which was found to be no longer tenable, where they discovered immense magazines of every description, and a great number of vessels. On the 19th Napoleon arrived at Tilsit, the extreme point of the Russian frontier on the side of Poland, where an armistice was speedily concluded between the two armies, which left the King of Prussia only the town of Memel.

Before we close the history of this campaign, we must add, that the force under Massena, which had been stationed on the Bug, had advanced, and, after defeating that portion of the Russian army which had been opposed to it, had joined their comrades on the Niemen.

Negotiations immediately commenced, and were prefaced by an interview between Napoleon and the Emperor Alexander, which took place in a raft on the river Niemen, in presence of both armies. The sovereigns embraced each other, and entered into the tent constructed for them on the raft. The interview lasted for two hours, at the end of which the most distinguished officers in the French and Russian armies were respectively introduced to Napoleon and Alexander. So cordial were the two monarchs upon this occasion, that a convention was entered into, by which the town of Tilsit was neutralized: Alexander and his guards occupied one part, and Napoleon, with his suite, the other. The unfortunate King of Prussia, to whom this new-born friendship boded no good, was admitted to their entertainments. In a disposition so materially conciliating, few difficulties could retard the progress of the negotiation. In the early part of July, and within two days of each other, appeared the treaties between France and Russia, and France and Prussia.

The latter power offered her mediation between France and



Great Britain, which was accepted by Napoleon, and declined by the British Government, on the ground that the secret articles of the treaty had not been communicated to it. It has been since proved, that amongst these secret articles was one for closing the ports of Russia against the commerce of Great Britain.

Availing himself of the privilege granted to him by Russia and Prussia, of creating new kingdoms at his pleasure, Napoleon amalgamated Hanover, the dominions of the Elector of Hesse, and some small districts in the vicinity, into a monarchy, in favour of his brother Jerome, whom he exalted to a sovereign, by the title of King of Westphalia. While in America, he had married a young lady of Baltimore; but Napoleon insisted upon his separating from her, and marrying the daughter of the King of Wirtemberg. Respect for this illustrious lady prevents our designating this odious transaction by its true name.

French troops were at this juncture conveyed in Russian vessels, to take possession of Corfu and the adjacent islands. In a word, the whole continent of Europe, Sweden only excepted, either received laws directly from Napoleon, or submitted to his influence. If ever ambition could be satisfied with its attainment, Buonaparte might now have been saturated. He had succeeded in every military enterprize he had undertaken, with the exception of the repulse before Acre. His military reputation at this period transcended that of any modern commander, and rivalled the renown of the most illustrious captains of antiquity. His arts in the cabinet were even more dreaded than his generalship in the field. In France, a great majority of the people hailed him as their preserver and hero; and splendid monuments and useful institutions distinguished his domestic government. The very fetters with which an all-pervading despotism bound the people, were courted and cherished for the sake of him who imposed them on the nation. Nothing remained to establish Napoleon's good fortune but a moderate use of victory, and a maritime peace. But the cry of the blood of Palm, and the Duke

d'Enghien, had ascended from the earth, and was heard and registered in heaven.

The return of Napoleon from the army was a series of triumphs. In every city he was greeted by vassals who trembled at his frown, and exulted in the distinction of his smile. On his arrival in Paris, the Senate and Legislative Body addressed him in terms of the highest admiration and respect, or rather the most egregious flattery. The only sovereign on the continent who still opposed him, (the King of Sweden,) was expelled from Pomerania; and Stralsund completed the long chain of maritime fortresses, by the possession of which he hoped to exclude the commerce of this country. We have not space, nor would it be necessary in a memoir of Napoleon, to detail the causes which led to the memorable expedition against Copenhagen, under Lord Cathcart, for the purpose of seizing the Danish fleet. It is certain that this measure precipitated the rupture between this country and the Emperor Alexander.

It was now that Napoleon fulminated his wrath against the Prince Regent of Portugal. An army, under Junot, was dispatched, not merely to invade, but to conquer and retain possession of that country. Against such a force, in close union with the Spanish troops, no effectual opposition could be made; and the Prince embarked with the royal family and his treasures for Brazil. The French army then took quiet possession of Portugal.

During these events Buonaparte visited Italy; but with the exception of the famous Milan decree, which denationalized all vessels, the captains of which had submitted to be searched by English cruisers, nothing occurred in this interim worthy of notice. We must now turn to the origin, progress, and accomplishment of those dark and infamous artifices which Napoleon practised towards Spain, and which were the foundation of those events which ultimately led to his ruin.

The accession of the grandson of Louis XIV. to the throne of Spain had established a family alliance, more intimate than had ever distinguished two independent states. When that

compact was dissolved by the French revolution, Spain, after maintaining a disastrous warfare against France, for the restoration of the House of Bourbon, quietly reassumed her old habits of connection with that country. To Napoleon she furnished money to carry on the war; and for so doing, was precipitated into a rupture with Great Britain.

At the period to which we have now arrived, the Prince of Peace, Manuel Godoy, had monopolized all the great offices of the state. Hated by the people, feared and detested by the Prince of Asturias, heir to the crown, he was supported only by the blind attachment of the Queen, and tolerated by the imbecility of the monarch. To allure this person to his interests, Napoleon made him the most splendid propositions. He created him generalissimo of the Spanish and French armies, designed to invade Portugal, and, in a projected partition of that country, offered to establish a small sovereignty, composing about a third of Portugal, of which he was to be the hereditary possessor. The dissension between Godoy and the Prince of Asturias increased, and was soon brought to a crisis.

The King of Spain imprisoned his son, and in a confidential letter to Napoleon, explained the imputed, not the real motives of this extraordinary proceeding; at the same time expressing his wishes that the Prince of Asturias might be allied to a Princess of the House of the French Emperor. This furnished a plausible pretext to interfere, not only in the national concerns of Spain, but in the private feuds of the royal family. Napoleon availed himself of the opportunity, and, under the pretext of rendering his mediation effectual, because irresistible, he introduced a powerful army into Spain, under the Duke of Berg. Having thus rendered all real conciliation between the son and father impossible, his agents again increased the feud to the last extremity, affecting ultimately to espouse the cause of the Prince of Asturias, and that of his royal parents, or, to speak more correctly, of Godoy.

Alarmed by these ambiguous proceedings, the royal family



resolved to depart for Mexico; but their designs being frustrated by a powerful insurrection at Aranjuez, they then resigned the crown to their son, the Prince of Asturias, who was enthusiastically proclaimed king, by the title of Ferdinand the Seventh. The favourite, Godoy, was thrown into a common prison, and his property confiscated; immediately subsequent to which, the Duke of Berg arrived at Madrid, with a force of upwards of 50,000 men, and propagated the report that Napoleon might be hourly expected in Madrid. Every preparation suitable to the rank of the expected guest, and the importance of his mediatorial journey, was made. Having then reduced the son and father to an abject and helpless dependence upon the will of the French Emperor, the Duke of Berg treated alternately with each; now affecting to consider the abdication of Charles IV. as compulsory, and therefore invalid; and now beguiling Ferdinand with the promise of the speedy restoration of his title by Napoleon. During this treaty, artfully prolonged to the last moment, the French troops had possessed themselves of the principal fortresses in Catalonia, and attempted to get possession fraudulently of Pampeluna; but in this design they were frustrated by the patriotism and courage of the officer who commanded the citadel: it was therefore seized by main force. The Duke of Berg affected to feel all his sympathies awakened for Charles, his consort, and the favourite, Godoy; and whilst he was playing this double game, the new king made his public entry into Madrid amidst the loudest acclamations.

The real object of Napoleon, throughout these apparently contradictory intrigues, was to get the whole Royal Family of Spain into his power. With this design, the report was revived in the strongest and most accredited manner, that Napoleon had quitted Paris for the purpose of proceeding to Madrid; and it was urged that the Infant, Don Carlos, brother of Ferdinand, should set out to meet him. In an evil hour this prince proceeded on his journey, and the Duke of Berg still continued his perfidious intrigues with Charles IV. and Ferdinand. Napoleon's aim was to prevail upon the latter to quit

Madrid and proceed to the frontier of France; and, in order to accomplish this object, he dispatched General Savary with assurances that he would not hesitate to acknowledge Ferdinand as king if he would comply with his wishes. Thus instigated, the new sovereign set out on his journey. On his arrival at Vittoria he halted, where he received a communication from Napoleon, strongly urging him to proceed to Bayonne, where the French Emperor had actually arrived. After much deliberation, and contrary to the express recommendation of the people of Vittoria, Ferdinand proceeded to Bayonne. On his arrival at the frontier, he perceived an ominous failure in those external marks of respect which such a visitor and such a mission were entitled to demand; and although on reaching St. Jean de Luez he was welcomed by the mayor, he had too certain grounds to conclude that he was betrayed. To retreat was now impossible, and he was welcomed on his arrival at Bayonne by Marshal Berthier, and other distinguished officers in the train of Napoleon. Still, the residence assigned to him was entirely disproportionate to his rank; but his hopes began to revive when Napoleon in person arrived to welcome and invite him to dinner at the castle of Marac. Ferdinand being now immeshed in the toils of his oppressor, it only remained to beguile King Charles and his consort; a project easily to be executed, as they only stipulated for the release of their favourite, Godoy, and that he should precede them; a request readily granted. On their approaching Bayonne, Ferdinand, and his brother Carlos, with a number of Spaniards, went out to meet the royal pair; but the interview was extremely embarrassing to all parties.

At length the mist was cleared up, and General Savary, upon the return of Ferdinand from an entertainment at the castle of Marac, was ordered to apprise him that Napoleon required the immediate surrender of the crown of Spain and the Indies, with an assurance that the reign of the House of Bourbon was at an end, and that that dynasty was to be replaced by a sovereign of the House of Napoleon. This perfidious demand was resolutely opposed by Ferdinand, and ineffectual negotiations took place between his ministers and the agents of Napoleon.

who, finding the prince more inflexible than he expected, availed himself of the imbecility of the old King. A separate negociation took place between the father and son, in which Ferdinand expressed his willingness to resign the crown to his father, to attend him in the capacity of a subject to Madrid, and, if Charles was indisposed to undergo the fatigues of royalty, to exercise the functions of sovereignty in such a manner, and with such a title, as might suit their mutual convenience. On the rupture of this treaty, Charles published a proclamation to the Spanish, apprising them that he had abdicated the throne of France in favour of Napoleon, and calling upon them to receive, and trust, the French as brethren. But the Emperor, impatient of the delay arising out of the tedious forms of diplomacy, resolved to compass his object at once. He therefore appointed an interview, in his presence, between the members of the Royal Family of Spain, then together at Bayonne. This meeting was of a very extraordinary nature. The Queen of Spain, after upbraiding Ferdinand, openly, with his usurpation, declared him to be illegitimate. This admission, worthy of Messalina herself, petrified her auditors. Buonaparte having in vain offered the crown of Naples to Ferdinand, and that of Etruria to his brother Carlos, addressed the former in these memorable words: *Prince, il faut opter entre la cession et la mort*: allowing him six hours to deliberate.

Ferdinand, having no other alternative, was compelled at length to accede to the disgraceful treaty by which the whole Spanish monarchy was transferred to the son of a notary-public of Ajaccio. It is impossible to record such enormities, or even to read them, without the strongest indignation: the whole is a tissue of unexampled fraud and baseness. We no longer recognize the conqueror of Marengo, Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland: his glories are extinguished in the treacheries of the base kidnapper of Bayonne.

From this juncture great and important changes took place in the public opinion throughout all Europe with respect to Napoleon. Hitherto excuses had been offered for all his ag-



gressions, but the naked atrocity of such a proceeding astonished and enraged the nations that beheld it. Fear for a time chained their arms and closed their lips; but the spark of patriotism which now electrified the Spanish nation, and afterwards burst into a glorious flame that spread throughout Europe, consumed the guilty greatness of the French Emperor.

To return to the thread of our narrative. Napoleon having assembled what he termed the *Notables* of Spain, (persons arbitrarily selected from different classes, and various places,) introduced his brother Joseph, who had been recalled from Naples, as their future sovereign; and the constitution which had been proposed for his subjects, was now read over to them. This act, it must be fairly acknowledged, contained some important ameliorations in the form of the government, limiting, at least in appearance, the royal authority by the Cortes; but coming from hands polluted by such recent treachery, it was justly and indignantly spurned by the Spaniards: in the circumstances of this assembly, however, they could only yield passive obedience, and they recognized Joseph as King of Spain and the Indies. In Madrid, the intelligence of the deposition of Ferdinand, and of the ill-treatment of the royal family, exasperated the wrath of the people to madness. Upon an apprehension that Don Antonio, the remaining brother of Ferdinand, was about to depart for Bayonne, a tumult arose on the 2d of May, which a French detachment, who fired upon the multitude, was unable to quell. In a short time, every man in the lower ranks of society at Madrid, armed himself in the best manner he could, and opposed the French. The battle was long and bloody, but the French columns cleared the streets with showers of grape-shot, and at length the insurrection was terminated. The next day, and the succeeding one, a military tribunal was assembled at Madrid, composed of *French officers*, who condemned to death all persons taken prisoners on the 2d of May, with any implements in their possession which they could by any possibility have converted into weapons.

After these acts of military slaughter and judicial assassin-

ation, the Duke of Berg, whom Charles IV. had appointed lieutenant-general of Spain, issued a proclamation to the people, regretting the scenes which had taken place, and promising a complete amnesty. But a new spirit had arisen in Spain; nobles, clergy, merchants, manufacturers, and peasants enrolled themselves in the number of the defenders of their country. Councils were convened by the people; simultaneous insurrections arose. The French army, computed at about 120,000 men, was obliged to be divided into detachments, which were distributed in the various provinces; but these detachments were unsuccessful in accomplishing the objects they had in view. The corps under Generals Weddel and Dupont, proceeding from Madrid to Cadiz, were encountered at Baylen by General Castanos, surrounded, and compelled to capitulate to the number of 14,000 men. The siege of Saragossa, one of the most brilliant events in the Spanish history, was raised by the French. In Catalonia they were defeated, and for a long time they remained without reinforcement. Joseph was compelled to quit Madrid, and to retire to Burgos. The only quarter in which the French prospered was in the north of Spain, where Marshal Bessieres, with 12,000 men, overthrew a force of about 35,000, chiefly composed of peasants. The loss of the Spaniards was immense; and could Bessieres have co-operated with the French force in Portugal, under Junot, their junction would have had a most unfavourable effect upon the affairs of the patriots. But Junot had sufficient occupation in another quarter. His forces were chiefly established in the central and southern provinces of Portugal; and the northern provinces had risen upon their invaders, expelled them, and taken possession of Oporto.

An expedition, under the orders of Sir Arthur Wellesley, (now Duke of Wellington,) had sailed from Cork to expel the French from Portugal. The English commander disembarked his army in Mondego Bay; and on the 17th of June a partial action took place at Roleia, in which a French division was defeated. At Vimiera, on the 21st of August, a more decided battle was fought, and Junot, overcome with the loss of 3000

men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. After the engagement, the famous convention of Cintra was concluded, by which the French army evacuated Portugal, but were to be conveyed in British ships to a French port between Rochefort and l'Orient, with their baggage, and restrained by no stipulation from again serving their master. One of the bitter fruits of this treaty was the entry of this very corps into Spain the latter end of the year 1808.

We must now return to Napoleon, who was placed in circumstances of great difficulty by the unexpected resistance of the Spaniards and the defeats of the French army, which, however palliated, could not be concealed from France or Europe. Austria increased her military establishment, renovated her finances, and assumed an attitude which rendered her an object of suspicion and distrust. Urgent expostulations were addressed to the Austrian Government on this change of system, to which civil replies were made; but the military preparations still continued. The French army in Spain could not be powerfully reinforced, nor could Napoleon personally direct its movements whilst this uncertainty as to the intentions of Austria continued. In a situation so perplexing, an ordinary mind would have been confounded, but the genius of Napoleon rose superior to his embarrassments; he prevailed upon the Emperor Alexander to meet him at Erfurth. The conferences were most amicable. The two monarchs were inseparable; and around them were assembled almost all the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine. Sumptuous fêtes, theatrical amusements, reviews, in short, every kind of pageantry diversified the intervals of business. An ambassador from the Emperor Francis attended, and a proposition was made jointly by Napoleon and Alexander to the British Government for peace. It was naturally insisted that deputies from the Spanish nation should attend the Congress. The overtures were rejected. Napoleon, having now provided for at least his present security, gave orders to his veteran troops, which still lingered in Prussia, to evacuate that country, and proceed by the shortest route to Spain: but, with his usual



sagacity, he replaced these experienced soldiers by an equal number of conscripts. The different corps on their arrival at Paris and other principal towns in the course of their march, were magnificently feasted, and as they reached the frontier, gradually swelled the number of the French army commanded by Marshal Ney, which had been reduced to about 50,000 men, but was still formidable, not only from its strength, but the discipline of the troops.

Napoleon having ordered a levy of 160,000 conscripts, left Paris, and repaired to Bayonne, whence he proceeded to the head-quarters of the French army, transferred to Igrun, a town very near the French frontier. His arrival in the camp was the signal for offensive operations.

We have already noticed that a Supreme Central Junta had been established in Spain. One of the principal objects which engaged the attention of the assembly, was the organization of their armies. One, under General Castanos, amounting to 65,000 men, was intended to operate on the left flank of the French; the second, under General Blake, 55,000 strong, was designed to turn the right wing; while the central and third army, under General Palafox, consisting of 20,000 men, were meant to unite with the two other armies in a general attack upon the French line, in itself extremely firm, and powerfully reinforced by veteran troops from Germany. At the commencement of the campaign the French troops could not be fewer in number than 100,000 men. By a masterly stratagem the army of General Castanos was decoyed across the Ebro, and when advanced sufficiently near, it was turned, attacked, and completely beaten, with the loss of 10,000 men, 7 standards, and 30 pieces of cannon. Still more unfortunate was the army under Blake. In a series of actions, which lasted for twelve days, it was driven from one position to another, and finally, having lost its artillery and magazines, dispersed in the mountains of Asturia.

An army, composed almost entirely of peasants, under the direction of the Count de Belvidere, was attacked in the vicinity of Burgos, and entirely routed. Having thus de-

scended like a mountain torrent from the Pyrenees, and in less than a fortnight discomfited the three most powerful armies of the patriots, Napoleon had leisure to attend to the operations of the British army, which was, as we have already noticed, in quiet possession of Portugal, after the convention of Cintra. Upon the departure of Sir Arthur Wellesley the command devolved upon Sir John Moore, who was directed to advance through Portugal towards Salamanca; a division, under Sir David Baird, was ordered to land at Corunna, march across Galicia, and unite with Sir John Moore's army. From some misunderstanding, if not lurking treachery, when Sir David Baird's division arrived off Corunna, he found that no orders had been given, nor preparations made for his reception. Much valuable time was lost before the debarkation could be effected. In January 1809, this gallant little army commenced its march through one of the most difficult, barren, and rocky countries in Spain, and effected its junction with the force under Sir John Moore; but not without some trouble, and more hazard. A small division, with a brigade of artillery, under General Hope, had been pushed forward on the route to Madrid. The force of the whole British army under Sir John Moore, amounted to about 27,000 men. We must now turn our attention to the movements of Napoleon.

The three principal armies of the patriots having been so completely routed as to disable them from offering any resistance to the French army, the important pass of Somosierra, on the high road to Madrid, was forced by the French, and on the 1st December, their cavalry arrived on the heights which overlook that city. After some resistance, or rather a show of resistance, Madrid surrendered, and different columns of the French army in this city and its neighbourhood, now increased to 60,000 men, diverged from the capital, by different routes, to complete the subjugation of the Peninsula. But in this, its hour of most extreme peril, it was saved by the intrepid advance of Sir John Moore, who marched to attack the corps of Soult at Saldanha, which had intentionally retired to allure him into

the snare Napoleon had spread for him; but his greatest danger arose from the machinations of the traitor, Morla; who, when Madrid was actually in the power of the enemy, represented that metropolis as offering a gallant and effectual opposition, and urged Sir John Moore to march to its relief. An ordinary commander would have sacrificed irretrievably the whole British army, and with it every hope of effecting the deliverance of the peninsula, by complying with the invitation; but Sir John Moore was a general worthy of contending with the conqueror of the continent. When his advance towards Saldanha was known at the French head-quarters, their whole disposable force in Spain, estimated at upwards of 150,000 men, was put in motion to intercept and crush him in his retreat. Napoleon quitted Madrid, and marched with all speed towards Benevento, with a large army. Here a brilliant skirmish took place between the French and British cavalry, in which the latter gained a complete victory. Napoleon's march, however rapid, did not secure its aim; and, at Benevento, finding he could not overtake Sir John Moore in time to surround him, gave up his personal pursuit of the British commander, which he committed to Marshal Soult (then Duke of Dalmatia). Napoleon did not remain long in Spain. The advices he received of the hostile preparations of Austria induced him to quit the former country for Paris; and with him, with some few and rare exceptions, departed the glory of the French arms in the Peninsula. We must pause, however, to notice two remarkable decrees promulgated by Napoleon at Madrid, and which, could they have been fulfilled at the time, would have proved some compensation to Spain for the perfidy of his aggression, namely, the abolition of the Inquisition, and the suppression of feudal rights, or rather, feudal wrongs. On reaching Paris, Napoleon quickly perceived that war with Austria was inevitable, and he prepared for it with his accustomed vigour and sagacity. The real ground of the war, on the part of Austria, was the apprehension she entertained



that Napoleon would seize the first favourable opportunity of acting towards her in the same dishonourable manner as he had done to Spain; and the opportunity of aiming a blow at the colossal power of the French Emperor, seemed propitious, inasmuch as the flower of his army was in the Peninsula, and his principal dependence, in the event of hostilities, must be on the troops of the Rhenish Confederation, (80,000 of whom he had taken into his pay), and the conscripts, 160,000 of whom had been required by him of the senate. Aware of the transcendant talents which would be opposed to it, the Austrian Government had made preparations suited to the greatness of the enterprize. The Austrian army was re-organized into corps on the French model, and completed to a full war establishment.

The command of the Austrian army in Germany, immediately opposed to Napoleon, was intrusted to the Archduke Charles, having under him some of the archdukes, his brothers. A powerful force was assembled on the borders of Italy; and a third army menaced the electorate of Saxony. Such was the disposition of the Austrian army at the commencement of hostilities. The first operation was the invasion of Bavaria by the Archduke Charles, whose army proceeded up both sides of the Danube. In proportion as he advanced, the French, commanded by Massena, (Duke of Rivoli,) and Davoust, (Duke of Auerstadt,) retired. Napoleon was no sooner informed that the Austrians had passed the Inn, than he left Paris, and in four days reached Donawert; a distance of about 500 miles. His head-quarters were transferred to Ingolstadt. On the following day, 18th April, he commenced offensive operations. At Pressig, an Austrian division was overthrown, and a similar fate attended another division; but those successes were partial. On the 20th, Napoleon, having reconnoitered that portion of the Austrian army on the south side of the Danube, which was commanded by the Archduke Louis and General Hollen, posted at Aberberg, immediately perceived that their line was enfeebled by too great an extension; he accordingly resolved

to assail it in front, while the Duke of Rivoli penetrated into the rear and cut off their communication with the army of the Archduke Charles on the north side. Before, however, he attempted this brilliant manœuvre, he addressed the Bavarian and Wurtemberg troops, (who supplied, on this occasion, the place of the imperial guards, not yet returned from Spain,) in a long and energetic speech, which was interpreted to them by the Hereditary Prince of Bavaria. The effect of this harangue, combined with the confidence he reposed in them, fully corresponded with his hopes: the troops formed into columns, advanced to the charge with the utmost ardour. The Austrians were driven from their position, and compelled to retreat with great loss, in a direction which completely exposed their left flank. Following up his advantage, Napoleon proceeded the next day to Landshut, and renewed the attack, which terminated in the total discomfiture of the Archduke and his colleagues. The losses sustained by the Austrians on these eventful days were computed at 27,000 prisoners, 42 pieces of cannon, and 8 standards. Alarmed at these ruinous defeats, the Archduke Charles suddenly crossed the Danube with an army of 110,000 men, entered Ratisbon, where he took prisoners a body of French, and advancing in a direction which threatened the rear and flank of the French army, resolved to encounter his great rival. Buonaparte left the pursuit of the remains of the force under the Archduke Louis, and advanced to Eckmuhl on the 22d. His military eye discovered an imperfection in the position of the left wing, which was assailed by Marshal Victor, (Duke of Montebello,) whilst Napoleon attacked his front. The combat was long and bloody: the Austrians, animated by the example of their heroic commander, fought with the greatest courage; but the superior skill of Napoleon prevailed; the Austrians were finally driven from the field, and the Archduke himself narrowly escaped captivity. The next day they attempted to make a stand at Ratisbon, but were overwhelmed, after an obstinate conflict: the Austrian cavalry withstood three different charges,

but were at length broken. The city itself, so renowned in the annals of diplomacy, as the seat of the German Diet, and whose neutrality had been respected in the most desperate war by all parties, was the scene of a furious action, the French having entered it through a breach in the fortification. A garrison, consisting of six Austrian regiments, were killed or taken prisoners; and, finally, the Archduke retreated in the direction of Bohemia, followed by the Duke of Auerstadt. The loss of the Austrians during these trying days has been calculated at 20,000 prisoners and 50 pieces of cannon.

Having thus expelled the invaders, Napoleon proceeded by rapid marches to Vienna, followed on the other side of the Danube by the Archduke Charles. A division of the French army was detached, under the Duke of Dantzic, to observe the Austrian corps stationed on the frontier of the Tyrol, when an extraordinary ferment prevailed in the minds of the inhabitants of that beautiful and romantic region. Their affection for the House of Austria was a singular phenomenon: it was certainly entirely gratuitous.

The march of the French Emperor was not vigorously opposed, excepting at Ebersberg, where a corps, under General Claparede, having pursued the Austrian rear guard, the town was set on fire, and some of the detachments were exposed to the most imminent danger, from which they were with difficulty extricated. On the 10th May, Napoleon appeared for a second time before Vienna, and summoned the garrison to surrender. The Archduke Maximilian, who commanded, demurred to the summons, upon which a slight bombardment took place, and the town capitulated. On reaching Vienna, Napoleon issued a proclamation to the Hungarians, inviting them to throw off their allegiance to the Emperor of Austria, and choose a sovereign for themselves. He had not leisure to witness the effects of this document, for the arrival of the Archduke Charles, on the other side of the Danube, opposite to Vienna, was the signal for another battle, more



desperate and sanguinary than any which had taken place during the whole campaign. Napoleon, having completed his arrangements, passed the greater part of his army to the north side of the Danube.

It was the plan of the Archduke Charles to permit the passage of Buonaparte's army in that direction undisturbed, which was accordingly effected on 21st May. The forces of the Archduke amounted to about 75,000 men, with 288 pieces of cannon; the French were rather more numerous, and equally well provided with artillery. The action commenced with great fury on the left of the French line. The object on each side, in this part of the field, was the possession of the village of Asperne, which was taken and recaptured eleven times. It was here that war assumed the sternest aspect; every house, barn, and stable, was ferociously contested. Night only terminated the conflict for the possession of this village, which was set on fire, part of it being then occupied by the Austrians. In the centre, and on the opposite extremity of the line, the struggle was equally violent. On this occasion the Archduke and Napoleon were personally opposed to each other. A series of desperate assaults were made by the French infantry, and many brilliant charges of cavalry, one of which had nearly routed the third Austrian column; but the Archduke had infused a new spirit into his troops; determined to conquer or die, they finally repulsed every attack. The village of Enzersdorf was carried by them, and the day closed with the unusual spectacle of a French army, commanded by Napoleon himself, driven back from some of the positions it had occupied in the commencement of the action. The village of Essling still remained in the possession of the French; but their line was narrowed, and their ranks thinned of their best troops, particularly the cavalry. Both parties remained on the field of battle, and in the night great reinforcements were brought over by Napoleon from the island of Lobau. At four on the morning of 22d the action was renewed, and the village of Asperne again fell into the hands of the French; but it was wrested from them by the Austrians, who were in their turn partially expelled by

the French. On the centre and right wing the battle recommenced in all its horrors. At this critical moment the bridge, which Napoleon had constructed from Lobau to the north bank of the Danube, was demolished by fire ships, sent down that river by the Archduke; a circumstance which could not fail greatly to embarrass the operations of the French army. In the early part of the contest they were the assailants, but all their courage and the skill of their commander, who exposed his person to the most imminent peril, could not enable them to make a permanent impression on the Austrian line. Asperne, or rather its calcined wrecks, remained, at the close of the day, in the hands of the Austrians. By a skilful disposition of his troops, the Archduke was enabled to turn the right wing of the French army, and gradually compel them to recede. At the village of Essling the slaughter was prodigious. Five times was it assailed by the Austrians, and as often were they repelled by the French, who finally maintained it. Had the village been carried, it would have been impossible for the French army to have effected a retreat.

In the night of the 22d, the remains of that mighty host, which had threatened the annihilation of the Austrian monarchy, were transported by Napoleon, who had reconstructed the bridge at Lobau, across the Danube. So skilful were the dispositions made by Buonaparte, that he saved all his artillery, excepting three pieces. The loss on both sides was immense; the Austrians admit that the battle cost them upwards of 21,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The loss of the French is estimated, in Napoleon's bulletin, at 10,000 men. The Austrians swell that number to four times the amount. It is probable, after allowing for exaggeration, that it exceeded 30,000 men placed *hors de combat*.

The Archduke gained immortal honour by this signal defeat of the French. A dawn of liberty began to dispel the darkness of the political horizon: but the hour of the French Emperor was not yet arrived. From some unknown cause, the advantages gained by the Archduke were not improved.

The French army was rallied on the south side of the Danube, and reinforcements of every kind hastened to their assistance. On the 25th Napoleon was joined by the French army of Italy. These troops were in the beginning of the campaign unfortunate. The Austrians captured Padua and Vicenza, crossed the Adige, and threatened Venice; but the disasters of their army in Germany compelled the Archduke John, who commanded them, to retire. He was pursued by the French army, strongly reinforced. In three engagements, namely, the passage of the Brenta, at Tarvis, and at Raab, in Hungary, he was overtaken and defeated by Eugene Beauharnois, son of Josephine, by her former husband, elevated by Napoleon to the rank of a prince, and appointed viceroy, and his adopted successor in Italy. The consequences of this retreat were most important. All the country between Vienna and the frontiers of Italy, was, for the moment, lost to the House of Austria; still the situation of Napoleon was exceedingly dangerous. The brave Tyrolese, headed by the immortal Hoßler, rose in a body, and expelled the French from their territory. Colonel Schill, a Prussian partizan, raised, in concert with the Duke of Brunswick, the standard of German independence; and although neither openly recognized, nor even essentially assisted by the powers at war with France, he operated an efficacious diversion in their favour, and obliged Napoleon to devote almost all his light troops to the purpose of holding him in check.

The people in Germany were greatly irritated by the extortions of the French, and they were ready to rise *en masse* at the first convenient opportunity. From 22d May to 3d and 4th July, nothing material occurred between the two main armies. During the interval, Napoleon constructed a stupendous bridge across an arm of the Danube, from Ebersdorff to Lobau; threw up works, erected batteries, and practised every military feint to induce the Archduke to believe that he meant to cross the river at the point where the Austrians were most strongly en-



trenched. This stratagem completely succeeded, and the Archduke fell into the snare. On the night between the 4th and 5th, Napoleon, with an army of at least 170,000 men, passed the Danube from the island of Lobau, over temporary bridges, turned the line of the Austrian entrenchments, and compelled the Archduke to fight him on his own ground. The force of the Austrians was greatly inferior, and probably did not exceed 120,000 men.

The day of the 5th passed over without any important action. It is evident, even from the French accounts, that they could boast of no considerable advantage; and it appears from the Austrian bulletins, that they were repulsed in an attack upon the enemy's centre. Much blood was shed on both sides without any visible result to either party. On the 6th, the battle began, and extended speedily to every part of the hostile lines. The Austrians, numerically inferior to the French, were still more inferior in artillery and cavalry; yet under these disadvantages, their line was greatly extended; an error by which Napoleon quickly profited. Still his success was dearly purchased. The centre of his army was repulsed, thrown into confusion, and would probably have been routed, had he not brought into the line a powerful battery, which scattered death through the opposite ranks. This circumstance obliged the Austrian centre to fall back about three miles, a movement that enabled the French to interpose between the enemy's centre and their wings.

At length the whole Austrian army slowly retired from the field, in the direction of Moravia. They were cautiously followed by the French. The battle of Asperne had taught them to respect the valour of their enemies. Thus ended the famous battle of Wagram.

The French bulletins assert, that on the 5th and 6th July, the Austrians lost 60,000 men, in killed, wounded, prisoners, and militia, who disbanded themselves, and 10 pieces of cannon. This statement is of course an absurd exaggeration; yet the Austrians admit of 26,000 men, but allege that the

French themselves lost upwards of 20,000. Whatever may have been the extent of the loss on either side, the consequences of the battle proved that it was a decisive defeat.

The Austrians were closely pursued, and overtaken at Znaim, where another had begun; when an armistice suspended the hostilities. The terms of this treaty were most favourable to the French; and, indeed, the situation of the Austrian army was rendered in the highest degree perilous, by the arrival of a great Russian force in Galicia, sent by Alexander, as auxiliaries to Napoleon. The negotiations for peace were protracted until the latter end of October, when they terminated in the treaty of Vienna.

By this treaty, Joseph Buonaparte was recognized as King of Spain; further territorial cessions were made to the King of Bavaria, who regained possession of the Tyrol: France acquired Trieste, and the countries bounded on the north by the river Drave; and Russia, about one-half of Galicia, including the city and salt-mines of Cracow.

The too celebrated expedition to Walcheren took place in the interval, between the armistice of Znaim and the peace of Vienna. The history of this affair would be an episode in the present narrative. We therefore gladly dismiss the subject, only observing, that the enemies of Great Britain would alone find pleasure in recording it. Returning to Paris, Napoleon busied himself in matters of internal legislation; and the spirit of these different acts proves that he was a monopolist, and that his government had degenerated into an undisguised tyranny. He passed a decree for the registration of servants; another for establishing a censorship of the press; and a third for attaching Holland to the French empire. He likewise annexed the papal dominions to the kingdom of Italy, and established eight prisons for the reception of persons *suspected* of plots against the state; who were to be deprived, not only of their personal freedom, but of any power to demand an open trial. Indeed, from this period, he became intoxicated with his unexampled prosperity. He no longer sought upright and intrepid counsellors. His

vitiated taste demanded only sycophants and slaves. Yet his penetration into real character, enabled him generally to select and confirm men in public situations whose talents peculiarly qualified them for such appointments. Public works of utility and grandeur were either commenced, or vigorously prosecuted; and it must be allowed, that in this particular instance, he identified the real and permanent interests of France with his own personal glory. The anti-commercial system was enforced with the greatest sincerity *abroad*, but wisely relaxed *at home*, by the system of granting licences. As if satiated with the military fame he had acquired, he abandoned his project of returning to Spain, where, in his absence, the fortune of the war had been chequered, but where, in every instance, British valour had prevailed over French impetuosity.

We regret that our limits in the present work will not allow us to follow the Fabius of England, soon to become her Scipio in the bright path of his achievements; but the monuments of a glory like his do not rest upon the ephemeral foundation of a memoir. They are constructed on the solid basis of the gratitude of his country, and the admiration of his contemporaries. The latest posterity will recur to them with pride and exultation.

One cause of Napoleon's inactivity is to be sought in the resolution he had formed to repudiate Josephine, (whose age precluded the possibility of his having an heir to the empire,) and marry another wife. This unjustifiable measure, adopted on the plea of state necessity, rivetted the attention of all Europe. In a full assembly of the senate, the marriage was dissolved, and Josephine was content to assume the title and enjoy the revenues of Dowager Empress. It is due to this woman to state, that in the high rank to which her husband's genius and fortune had raised her, she had borne her faculties meekly: that he lost in her a faithful friend and a sagacious counsellor; the unhappy and oppressed, a zealous, and often a successful advocate; one whose timely interposition arrested the arm of lawless power, when uplifted



to crush and to destroy. The frailties of her youth have been forgotten, and her memory will long be cherished, and respected by the French nation.

Napoleon did not hesitate in the choice of Josephine's successor. Who that successor would be was a problem that excited the curiosity of Europe; and when the riddle was expounded, astonishment succeeded to curiosity. The Archduchess Maria Louisa, the daughter of the Emperor Francis, whom Napoleon had thrice humbled to the dust, was the destined bride. This princess, in her nineteenth year, eminently accomplished, and possessed of considerable personal attractions, is said to have received and accepted the honour not only with resignation, but even pleasure. Had not Napoleon been previously married, or had he been freed by the stroke of death from the shackles of a former engagement, this rumoured predilection would not have excited any rational wonder. The conqueror of continental Europe, whose diadem was encircled with the halo of almost uninterrupted victory, himself the creator of kings, and the arbiter of the fate of nations, eminently endowed, when he chose to display them, with many of those brilliant qualities which captivate the hearts of women, although he would have been at first considered by the Archduchess as the implacable enemy of her house, yet feelings of admiration might, and probably did, speedily succeed to those of terror and disgust. To give additional splendour to the embassy sent to Vienna to demand the Archduchess, the Prince of Neufchatel (the right arm of Napoleon, as he was termed) was selected. Every point having been previously adjusted, Maria Louisa repaired to France. Napoleon proceeded to the frontiers to receive and welcome her. The nuptials were celebrated with all possible magnificence at Paris, on the 11th of March, 1810. Four queens, the consorts of as many sovereigns raised to that rank by Napoleon, supported the train of the bride. With his usual policy, Napoleon availed himself of the occasion to propitiate the army; he promised to bestow a portion of 600 francs (about 30*l.* sterling,) upon 6000 young girls, who should espouse, on the day of his mar-

riage, as many soldiers, recommended for their good conduct by their officers. Innumerable fêtes succeeded. His vanity, his ambition, and his senses being alike gratified by this splendid alliance, Buonaparte no longer displayed that marvellous and unrelaxing energy which had astonished and terrified mankind. For a long period business was an irksome distraction. It was now Hercules with the distaff of Omphale.

The year 1811 was distinguished by the dethronement of the King of Sweden. This prince had strenuously opposed Napoleon in all his projects, not only in the field, but in the cabinet, and by repeated proclamations; but neither his talents, resources, nor the position of circumstances, favoured his designs. The war still lingered between Sweden and France, all the disadvantages of which recoiled on the latter power. A strong party was formed against the King. He was deposed, and his uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, raised to the throne. The succession was settled upon the Prince of Augustenburg, on the demise of the reigning King: this prince dying soon after without issue, the crown was rendered elective. Many candidates presented themselves; but the choice of the Swedish Diet, assembled at Orebro, fell on Marshal Bernadotte, Prince of Porto Corvo, formerly a serjeant in the French army in India at the siege of Cuddalore, and brother-in-law of Joseph Buonaparte, the titular King of Spain. In contemplating the results of his extraordinary elevation, who does not recognize that Almighty wisdom, which moulds to its beneficent purposes the various and jarring elements of which humanity is composed.

In the course of this year the hopes of Napoleon were crowned by the birth of a son, who was created King of Rome; and now a second opportunity was afforded of consolidating his power, by returning to the paths of moderation and justice; but, pursued by a blind fatality, he undertook a war with Russia, in opposition, as it should appear, to the plainest dictates of a sound and enlightened policy; and fell into the like error which gave rise to the misfortunes of Charles V. and Philip II., namely, the undertaking of different

enterprizes at the same time, which exceeded the physical resources of his empire, great as they were, even when wielded by himself.

It will be recollected, that after the treaty of Tilsit, a powerful French army was stationed in the Duchy of Warsaw, and occupied the maritime fortresses of Prussia. By this measure a continual check was opposed to the designs of Russia, who beheld herself straightened and overawed: hence a natural and increasing jealousy. It is generally known, that, at the treaty of Tilsit, the Emperor of Russia engaged to close the ports of his dominions against British commerce. This requisition was to be common to both powers, who were the principal parties to that treaty. Out of France it was strictly enforced by Napoleon; but in the interior of that country it was modified by the system of licences. The Emperor Alexander was naturally desirous of mitigating to his subjects the rigour of this anti-commercial restriction; but on this head Napoleon was inflexible. The breach between the two courts grew daily wider, and was aggravated by the insult wantonly offered by Napoleon to Alexander, in the seizure of the territories of the Duke of Oldenburgh, brother-in-law to the latter prince. War now became inevitable, and both parties prepared for the conflict. On the side of Napoleon, the army which he assembled was prodigious, greater probably than had ever been beheld in Europe since the invasion of Attila. It was composed of troops of all nations, and amounted to 400,000 infantry and 60,000 cavalry, well equipped, perfectly disciplined, and marching, as they conceived, under the banner of their great leader, to an assured conquest.

In the beginning of May, 1812, Napoleon having dictated a decree of the senate, which called into activity within the limits of the empire (now swelled by the incorporation of so many states) 60,000 national guards, left Paris with the Empress, and proceeded to Dresden, where he met the Emperor and Empress of Austria, and almost all the sovereigns of Germany. He left that city June 7th, and having reviewed the greater part of his troops on the plains of Friedland, he gave orders to



cross the Niemen. The memorable passage of this river was effected on the 23d and 24th of June, and the French army then plunged into the deserts of Russia.

On the part of the Russians, the plan of the campaign was strictly defensive. Accordingly, their army retreated, destroying what they could not remove, and avoiding a general action. The main Russian force was divided into two bodies, acting separately, but in close correspondence with each other.

Aware of this arrangement, Napoleon skilfully moved a portion of his army in such a direction as to enable it to interpose between the two great Russian divisions.

It appears to have been a part of his plan not only to have separated these corps, but, by a rapid counter-march, to have surrounded and destroyed them. He complained in his bulletins that his officers, Davoust and Prince Poniatowski, did not pursue the Russians with sufficient vigour; but a different version of the causes of the failure of this masterly scheme has been given by the Russians. They represent that no impression was made upon the rear guards of the Russian army; but that, on the contrary, the French were repulsed with severe loss, in many encounters.

Having thus made his dispositions for the opening of the campaign, Napoleon proceeded to Wilna, the metropolis of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where he remained for many days, occupying himself with the re-establishment of the ancient kingdom of Poland. In the mean time his army advanced in different columns; some in the direction of Smolensko, others towards the Dwina. A confederation having been entered into at Wilna to re-unite the scattered fragments of the Polish monarchy, (under one administration,) Napoleon, dissatisfied with the conduct of the officer he had directed to pursue the enemy, rejoined the army, which, by this time, had made deep inroads into the Russian empire. The King of Naples (Murat), who commanded the cavalry, accompanied by other French corps, arrived on the banks of the Dwina, where the Russians occupied the entrenched camp of Drissa; from this

position they found it convenient to retire, and the two great bodies of the Russian army, so long divided, now converged towards each other, and at length effected a junction near Witepsk.

The centre of the French army advanced towards that city while the corps of Oudinot (Duke of Reggio) and Macdonald (Duke of Tarentum) remained in Courland, for the purpose of attempting the siege of Riga. In this object, however, they were frustrated by the skill, activity, and valour of Prince Witgenstein, who defeated the corps of Oudinot with great loss.

On advancing to Smolensko, two actions were fought; one at Witepsk, and another at Ostrowno, in both of which the victory was claimed by either party; but geographical evidence proves that the advantages of conquest remained with Napoleon. Having proceeded thus far, he deemed it prudent to refresh his troops with a short relaxation from the fatigues of war. He accordingly halted the army for ten days, when it was again put in motion, and on the 16th of August reached Smolensko, a point of the greatest importance. It was the centre of the communication between Lithuania, Moscow, and St. Petersburg. Here the Russian army resolved to make a stand. A part of it occupied the city, which is extremely ancient, and enclosed by walls 30 feet high and 15 broad. Napoleon, having reconnoitered the place and the positions of the Russians below it, resolved to storm the entrenched suburbs. The battle soon became murderous. The Russians possessed a fine train of artillery, admirably served. The determination to conquer or die pervaded every breast.

Notwithstanding, however many impediments, the French troops gained ground, although with prodigious loss, and the suburbs were finally abandoned.

A tremendous fire was also opened against the walls, where, at length, breaches were effected; but these were successively filled by Russian soldiers, who exhibited on this day a spirit worthy of the cause for which they contended. It being at length resolved by the Russian commander to abandon

the city, it was set on fire, and relinquished on the morning of the 18th.

Napoleon now formed a plan to outflank the Russian army in its retreat from Smolensko, at Valentina; but Junot (Duke of Abrantes), who was charged with the execution of the most important part of it, did not arrive with his corps in time. A battle here took place, which was of a very sanguinary description, and in which, as usual, each side claimed the victory; but the French still continued to advance, and the Russians to retire. It is well known that Napoleon was most strongly urged by his marshals to content himself with the ground he had gained, secure his left flank by the conquest of Riga, and reserve active operations for the next campaign. There had been a period when Napoleon would have listened to counsels so fraught with prudence; but the lust of power, the intoxication of prosperity, and the wrath of heaven, determined him to proceed.

The reader cannot fail of being struck with the vast difference between this and the former campaigns of Buonaparte. The Russians not only fought with heroic valour, and were commanded by able generals, but the whole country, as Napoleon advanced, was laid waste; the towns were burned, the magazines destroyed or removed. The subsistence of the French army became daily more difficult, as their distance from the Duchy of Warsaw and Germany increased. Besides this, if the Russians were driven back, they were neither routed, dispersed, nor deprived of their artillery. The shadow of victory only attended the presence of the French Emperor.

Deaf to all these considerations, he followed the Russian army; and on the 26th August entered the town of Viasna, which was burned by the inhabitants. Prince Kutassoff, who had now assumed the command of the entire Russian army, caused it still to retreat until it arrived at Borodino, a small village about five miles from Mojaïsk, on the high road to Moscow, where he awaited the approach of the French.

Napoleon arrived in front of the Russian lines on 4th Sep-



tember, and found the enemy most strongly entrenched on a plateau on the summit of a hill, defended by two very large redoubts, besides smaller ones on the right and left flanks of his position. The Russians had, moreover, constructed a redoubt which strengthened their left wing, and rendered the approach to their lines exceedingly dangerous.

On 5th September this redoubt was carried, after a most desperate opposition, and the French army was then enabled to advance, and take up a position for the great battle which, it was imagined in Napoleon's camp, would decide the fate of the war. The whole of the 6th was occupied in mutual reconnoissances, and on the 7th, in the morning, the action began.

We must here premise that the number of combatants on each side was nearly equal, about 130,000 men. The first efforts of the French were directed to carry the village of Borodino, which covered the Russian centre; in which they succeeded. Their next object was to get possession of the first redoubt; this point they also accomplished; but as the possession of the redoubt was of the greatest importance to the Russians, the French were driven out of it, and at the same moment their centre, under the Prince Viceroy of Italy, was attacked by the Russian reserve with the imperial guard. The impetuosity of the charge obliged the centre to recoil, and it would probably have been broken but for the personal bravery and exhortations of the Prince, and the timely arrival of Friand's divisions, which, with 24 pieces of cannon, kept the Russians in check. The centre then marched up to the redoubt, and here began a combat the most bloody of any that had been witnessed in modern times. Whole ranks of the French were mowed down by a fire of artillery and musketry kept up by the Russians; who were securely posted behind a ravine, which commanded, on that side, the approach to the redoubt; but at length it was stormed by the French, who paid for their trophy with rivers of blood. All the efforts of the Russians to regain possession of this redoubt were unavailing: but they still held another, separated from that part of the field of battle to

which we have just referred, by a deep ravine. This redoubt poured a most destructive fire upon the French centre, which remained inactive for some hours after the conquest it had achieved. On the right of the French line the success was very different; there Marshal Ney's corps was repulsed in repeated and sanguinary attacks upon the left wing of the Russian army, which, impreguably defended by its numerous batteries, scattered death in the ranks of the assailants. On this point, therefore, the Russians were successful, and at the close of the day maintained their ground.

Such is a brief sketch of this celebrated action, which is computed to have placed in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 80,000 men *hors de combat*. What were the exact proportions of this enormous loss sustained by either party, will never be accurately known; the Russians admit that they lost 30,000. The French are said to have experienced a defalcation of 50,000 men. The true character of the battle appears to have been this: that a part of the field remained until the next morning in the possession of the Russians; the remainder was gained by the French. The Russians fought to preserve Moscow, and were compelled to relinquish their design. The French anticipated the entire defeat of their enemies, and were disappointed.

The Russians retreated on the road to Moscow, followed by the French army. No action of consequence occurred; and on the 14th September Napoleon entered that city, or rather its mouldering ruins, for Count Rostopchin, the governor of the city, with a magnanimous courage unequalled in history since the sack of Saguntum, did not hesitate to burn the second metropolis of the empire, and for ages the seat of the Russian monarchy. This heroic deed, which will for ever form a splendid era in the annals of Russia, reduced the French army to the greatest difficulties. They were in extreme want of provisions, clothing, equipments of every kind, and above all, of shelter from the piercing severity of the Russian climate. Of all these they were suddenly and irretrievably deprived. Behind them were only the calcined and empty wrecks of

the towns they had conquered. Before them, the desolate wilderness of Siberia.

The army of Kutusoff, daily reinforced, hovered on their flanks, and was on the point of resuming offensive operations. To attempt to march to St. Petersburg was to expose themselves to certain destruction; and the Russian forces, which had served in Moldavia against the Turks, were proceeding by rapid marches to cross the line of their communications, and cut off their reinforcements. Yet in a situation where speedy retreat could alone preserve the French army from utter ruin, posterity will hardly believe that Napoleon could be so infatuated as to linger for nearly six weeks on the site of what had been Moscow, amusing himself with the empty forms of a negotiation with the Emperor Alexander; but his cup was full, and he who had remorselessly administered the last dregs of human suffering to so many nations, was himself most righteously doomed to quaff the bitter draught of direst humiliation.

Having called in the different corps of his army which had been encamped in a circle, of which the ruins of Moscow formed the centre, he commenced his retreat. On the 18th and 19th October the troops began their march. Aware of the difficulties which would attend his return through the provinces he had subdued, and which Russian and French troops had converted into a frightful desert, he formed the plan of wintering in the Ukraine. With this view the army made a *detour* to the south; but his designs were penetrated by the Russian commander, who, assembling his whole force, proceeded to the town of Malo Jaroslavitz, which had been already occupied by the advanced guard of the French. Here was fought a most desperate and long contested action. The principal object with both parties, was to obtain the possession of the heights, which were alternately occupied by either. At length, according to the French accounts, they were, at the close of the battle, wrested from the enemy. Admitting this to have been the case, still the action had for them all the consequences of a discomfiture, as they were outflanked



by the Russians, and, therefore, compelled to retreat by the route of Smolensko.

From the latter end of October to the 6th November the weather had been beautifully serene, although extremely cold, and the army marched with regularity; yet in this interval they were severely distressed for want of forage and provisions. Already were the soldiers compelled to eat horse flesh; and the animals that drew the artillery, and the innumerable carts laden with the spoils of Moscow, dropped down with fatigue, and perished. Hourly, ammunition waggons were exploded, from the utter impossibility of removing them. The army was followed by Cossacks, who were kept in awe by the French artillery and cavalry; but on the 6th November they were concealed by impenetrable clouds; a furious wind beat the forests; sheets of snow darkened the air; despondency unnerved every breast; extreme cold and hunger paralyzed the movements, and destroyed the discipline of the army. Cannon, carts, baggage waggons, were all abandoned. Those who were unable to keep pace with the march of the columns, were either transpierced by the friendly lances of the Cossacks, or tasted of the bitterness of death, by slow and lingering draughts of agony. So sudden, yet so complete was the destruction, that in two days the army lost one-third of its number; and by the latter end of November it had left behind it 500 pieces of cannon, and upwards of 40,000 prisoners. It was in vain that Napoleon occasionally marched on foot with his guards, and endeavoured, by familiar conversation, to reanimate their sinking spirits. The conqueror under whose banners they had been led to innumerable triumphs; the father who had anticipated all their wants; the patron, whose smile was distinction, and whose favour was power and fortune, was now most justly regarded as the immediate cause of all their calamities, and as the destroyer of the host.

To complete the scene of desolation, the unmanly and ferocious wrath of the French Emperor caused him to burn and pillage all the villages through which he passed; and as

the imperial guards were generally in advance of the army, the soldiers of the other corps who followed them were deprived not only of shelter but of fuel, the houses of the Russian peasantry being composed of wood. Flights of ravens and packs of wild dogs hovered round and followed the French.

The passage of the Wop and Berezina aggravated their calamities, and the junction of the armies from Moldavia and Courland, in the line of the retreat, completed the work of destruction. Posterity will hardly credit the tale, that, out of an army, which in June consisted of upwards of 400,000 men, the feeble wrecks were, in the early part of December, reduced to 20,000, scantily covered with sheep-skins and the raw hides of horses, without linen, stockings, shoes, (a substitute for the latter was attempted from old hats,) artillery, or baggage; an unarmed, disorderly, famished crowd, with raw carrion for their food, trembling at the approach of a single Cossack, and assassinating each other to obtain the slightest article of provision, or scanty tatter of clothing.

At Wilna a division took place of the remains of the plunder of Moscow, and the gaunt and ghastly spectres of soldiers were arrayed in the richest silks, and although dropping by hundreds in the streets from cold and famine, yet rich in the dross of gold and silver. At Smorghoni, in Lithuania, Napoleon quitted the army on 15th December, without addressing a proclamation to the wretches he had at once ruined and abandoned; the command of whom was first deputed to the King of Naples, and afterwards to the Prince Viceroy. Travelling *incognito*, he arrived in Paris on the 20th of that month.

It is now that we can behold him in a perfectly new situation. The splendour of his military fame irretrievably tarnished; his moral character deservedly abhorred; his allies, or rather his vassals, universally discontented, and awaiting only a favourable opportunity to abandon him, and swell the ranks of his enemies. In France his influence was shaken to its centre, and the friends and relations of the soldiers, whose

bones were bleached by the frosts of Russia, imprecated curses, not loud indeed, but deep and bitter, on the madman who was the sole author of their calamities.

Yet in a situation so fraught with difficulty and danger, the resources of his mighty genius appeared to expand, and to raise him, for a time, above the storms of adversity. In a speech to the Legislative Body, he explained the perils which on every side menaced the empire; perils increased by the defection of the King of Prussia, and the advance of the Prussian and Russian armies through the Duchy of Warsaw into Saxony, whither the French army, by this time greatly reinforced, had been driven. After dilating on these matters, his minister proposed a decree to the senate for calling out 36,000 conscripts. In the debased condition of that assembly the decree passed, which mowed down, as with a scythe, the blossoms of the youth of the empire.

In every department of government a miraculous activity prevailed: his conscripts were clothed in the space of one week! To discipline them, the most experienced subalterns and privates from the armies in the Peninsula were selected. The prefects exhorted, the priests preached, venal writers inculcated, the necessity of saving the country. By one grand effort every spring in the complicated machine of the French administration was stretched to its utmost possible elasticity; and, to the astonishment of the world, and of France herself, he brought into the field an army of upwards of 200,000 troops, the greater part, indeed, composed of youth from 16 to 21, but perfectly equipped, (excepting in cavalry,) and fairly disciplined: the artillery was excellent, and well served.

Quitting Paris the latter end of April, 1813, he conducted to the border of the Saale, in the neighbourhood of Weissenfels, a very large army, numerically superior to that of the allies, which had, by this time, overrun Saxony, and commenced the sieges of the principal fortresses in that kingdom. On the 2d May was fought the battle of Lutzen.

It was intended by the French Emperor to assail the allies,



(the Prussian and Russian armies,) by a movement which would have brought him upon their flank and rear; but he was anticipated by the Prussian and Russian commanders, who, by a counter movement, obliged him to relinquish his design. The action was very long, and most obstinately contested. The French army, stationed in villages, were defended by a tremendous artillery. Nevertheless, the allies pressed so heavily on their centre, that a part of it was actually broken, when Napoleon brought into the line a battery of 60 pieces of cannon, which arrested the progress of the assailants. At the same moment, Count Bertrand's corps, which had *debouched* to the right, appeared in the rear of the position of the allies, and the field was won with great, and probably equal, loss, to either party. The allies, indeed, claimed the victory, but the result proved that the French were really the conquerors.

The numerical weakness of the combined army, coupled with the possession of Leipsic by Napoleon, compelled the former to retire, slowly indeed, in good order, and without loss.

On reaching Dresden, Napoleon had an interview with the King of Saxony, whom he succeeded in keeping firm to his alliance. After spending some days in that city, he proceeded to join his army in Lusatia; and on the 19th May and two following days, fought the battles of Bautzen and Wurtchen. In these, as well as in the preceding battle of Lutzen, the most obstinate valour was manifested by either party.

A movement of Marshal Ney, (now created Prince of the Moskwa,) with a considerable corps, to turn and surround the right wing of the allies, failed. The attack was therefore made under every disadvantage of position by the centre and right wing of the French army; and this attack, continually renewed, at length succeeded. The loss on each side was very great; that of the allies is estimated, in the French account, at 6000 killed and wounded, 10,000 prisoners, and 19 pieces of cannon. Their own loss is reckoned at from 10 to 12,000 killed, to which must be added some artillery and prisoners.

The allies withdrew; and that they were here really worsted, is evident by their relinquishing Silesia without making a stand. Almost the whole of this beautiful country was conquered by the French.

Negotiations were now commenced for an armistice, which was signed at Reichienback on the 1st of June. The terms of this armistice left the French in possession of all their conquests, and extended their line on the frontier of Prussia. We have not interrupted the narrative of this short but important campaign, to notice, in the natural order of dates, that Hamburg (which with other contiguous territories, had been merged in the overgrown mass of the French empire) fell into the hands of the allies, and had been reconquered by the Prince of Eckmuhl.

Another opportunity was now afforded to Napoleon of closing the war, with infinitely less disadvantage than he could either expect or deserve. The substantial fruits of victory remained with him at the battles already described. The prodigious efforts he had made had rendered him once more an object of apprehension; and a peace might have been then negotiated, under the mediation of the Emperor of Austria, which would have left him the complete master of Italy; but his exasperated pride demanded nothing less than the reconquest of all of which his own guilty folly in the Russian campaign had deprived him. Disgusted with his conduct, alarmed at his ambition, and yet smarting under the injuries he had received, the Emperor Francis at length joined the coalition against France, which now consisted of Russia, Prussia, Austria, Sweden, and Great Britain, the life and soul of the confederacy. During this armistice Napoleon had strained every nerve to recruit his armies, which were now increased to 500,000 men. He repaired to Mentz, where he had an interview with the Empress, constituted Regent of the empire during his absence in Germany, and sent the Prince Viceroy to Italy to make head against the Austrians.

To form a correct judgment of the important events of the

second campaign, we must take a brief survey of the positions of the different armies who were engaged in it.

In the north-west of Germany the corps under the orders of the Prince of Eckmühl, strongly reinforced, occupied Hamburg, and was destined, in concert with Danish auxiliaries, to proceed through the territory of Mecklenburgh direct to Berlin. In the north of Saxony a powerful force was assembled to oppose the Swedes and a corps of Prussians, commanded by the Crown Prince of Sweden. The main body of the French army, commanded by Napoleon in person, was in the southern part of Silesia, opposed by a strong Prussian and Russian army, commanded by Blücher, D'York, and Kleist. The Austrian army was stationed in the upper part of Bohemia, not far from Dresden, where Napoleon deposited his principal magazines.

From this survey, it appears that Napoleon fought in a semi-circle, and it will be seen that the main object of the allies was to break through it on different points, and surround the French army. We must likewise add, that the campaign commenced under very sinister auguries for the French army; as General Jomini, a staff-officer of distinction, deserted to the allies, and revealed the whole plan of Napoleon's campaign; and General Moreau had returned from America, and filled in the Austrian army the same functions as were executed by the Prince of Neufchatel in that of the French.

The armistice having terminated on the 17th August, Napoleon attacked and defeated the Prussian and Russian corps opposed to him with considerable loss; but he was not suffered to pursue his career in that quarter. Taking advantage of his absence, the Austrian army, in immense force, crossed the mountains which divide Saxony from Bohemia, and advanced to Dresden, which they hoped to carry by *coup de main*.

Napoleon, apprised of this movement, left Silesia, and with the imperial guards, and some other divisions, probably amounting together to nearly 60,000 men, achieved a march of 120 English miles in 72 hours, through bad roads, filled



with water, and previously injured by the transport of immense bodies of troops and their artillery. This surprising march, one of the most splendid of his military achievements, and which, under all its circumstances, stands alone in modern history, was so well timed, that an hour later its object would have been defeated, for the Austrians were in possession of the suburbs. Without allowing his troops, composed almost entirely of very young men, to halt or refresh themselves, although, from extreme fatigue, they were seen reeling in the streets of Dresden, Napoleon led them forth against the enemy whilst the rain descended in torrents.

The action which ensued was vigorously contested; but the superiority of the French artillery compelled the allies to retire with considerable loss. This day was distinguished by the death of the brave Moreau, who was struck by a cannon-ball in the thigh.

The next and following days Napoleon pursued them to the distance of about 30 miles from Dresden; but here the first signal disaster of the campaign occurred. He had detached the corps of Vandamme in pursuit of the Austrians to Culm. This corps was unsupported; and having in the first attack gained some advantages, Vandamme descended the mountains, an error of which the Austrians quickly profited, by surrounding this corps, from whom it took 12,000 prisoners, with all their baggage and artillery. The Austrian army then offered battle to Napoleon, which he did not think proper to accept.

We must now return to Silesia. Blucher, like an able general, took advantage of the absence of Napoleon, and of the great diminution of the French army, to attack it with forces numerically superior, but still more superior in the quality of the troops. This engagement was fought on the banks of the Katzback, a river in Silesia, and terminated in the complete discomfiture of the French, who lost an immense number of prisoners, with the greater part of their artillery and baggage. This battle decided the fate of Silesia.

On the north of Saxony the French arms were equally unfortunate. The Prince of the Moskwa attacked the army

under the Crown Prince of Sweden, at Donnevitz, and succeeded at first in making some impression upon it; but the skill of the Crown Prince, and the ardour of the troops, soon changed the fortune of the day. The French were defeated with great loss, and were disappointed, moreover, in the expected co-operation of the corps under the Prince of Eckmühl, which, from some unknown cause, did not carry into effect the part originally assigned to it in the French plan of the campaign. From this moment, the situation of Napoleon, who remained in and near Dresden, became hourly more perilous, as the semi-circle, on the exterior line of which the allies were acting, became more and more contracted. It was in vain that, with his characteristic activity and energy, he endeavoured to oppose the movements of the allies on the points most threatened. If for a short time he compelled, or rather appeared to compel, the enemy to retire from those points, they advanced in another direction. His army was still numerous, but could boast of only a small number of veteran troops. The conquerors of Austerlitz, Friedland, and Wagram, covered with their bones the plains of Russia, or were prisoners of war in that country; and now the allies, forming three powerful armies under Prince Schwartzenburg, Blücher, and the Crown Prince, passed, in lateral lines, nearly and at equal distances, the city of Dresden, and proceeded, by converging marches, towards Leipsic and the banks of the Saale; thus cutting off his communication with France, and threatening to surround his whole army, whilst the King of Bavaria abandoned Napoleon, and united his troops to those of the allies. Roused to a sense of his danger, he now left Dresden, to which he had clung with a tenacity which excited the astonishment of tacticians, and collecting his whole disposable force, he proceeded towards Leipsic, gaining, on his march, some inconsiderable advantages.

The amount of that force was estimated at 180,000 men, exclusive of garrisons. The strength of the allied armies probably did not fall far short of 300,000 men, reinforced as they were by patriotic Germans, who, forming themselves

into societies, rose *en masse* to achieve their own deliverance, and the salvation of Europe.

On the 15th October the French army was closely drawn up in the immediate neighbourhood of Leipsic, having in front the armies of the Crown Prince and Blucher, and in the rear, the grand Austrian army under Prince Schwartzenburg; this arrangement rendered it necessary for the French Emperor to divide his forces for the purpose of opposing a double front.

On the 16th October were fought two desperate battles, one with the Russians and Prussians, the other with the Austrians, in each of which Napoleon, during a portion of the day, commanded in person. The battle with the Austrians was fought with equal fortune, although with enormous loss on either side. At three o'clock the Austrian centre was pierced by a desperate charge of the French cavalry; and had not their reserves arrived at that critical juncture, the Austrian army would have been defeated. The opportune presence, however, of these reserves compelled the French cavalry to retire with great loss. Still victory was equally poised, and neither party could truly boast of an advantage; but on the other part of the field, where the French had to support an attack from the armies of the Crown Prince and Blucher, the result was very different; there, after the most desperate resistance, the French were obliged to yield the ground, and contract their lines; their loss was estimated at 12,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners, and 40 pieces of cannon.

If the circumstances of Napoleon were critical before these actions, they were now almost desperate. Anticipating the necessity of an immediate retreat to the Rhine, he had detached General Regnier, who commanded the Saxons, to secure the principal *debouché* of the Saale.

The day of the 17th was spent on each side, in making preparations for other and still more decisive conflicts. Napoleon alleges as a reason for his inactivity on this day, that he waited for a supply of ammunition, having expended, in the two preceding battles, almost his whole supply; but he was severely censured for not retreating immediately after the



action already described, and the results of which plainly showed that he was utterly unable to maintain himself in the position he then occupied. Whether this reproach be or be not well founded, it is certain that he had already suffered all the injurious consequences of a defeat.

On the 18th the battles were renewed in the same order as before. They raged for a long time with equal fury, and with nearly equal advantage; at the most important moment, the Saxon and Wirtemberg troops, with their artillery, went over to the allies, when the Saxons were immediately led on to the charge by the Crown Prince in person. This defection instantly decided the fate of the day; it disordered the French line, and disheartened the troops. Beaten in both battles with immense loss, it only now remained for Napoleon, who had narrowly escaped being taken prisoner in the battle of the 18th, with the shattered remnants of his hosts, to effect a retreat through Leipsic and across the Saale. This operation commenced very early in the morning of the 19th October, and presented a scene of confusion which cannot be described; cavalry, infantry, artillery, and baggage, all crowded together, and proceeding to the bridge over which the army was to defile, rendered it impossible to establish or maintain order, particularly as the allies pressed vigorously on the rear. When about two-thirds of the French army had passed over, the bridge was either from accident or design blown up. The miserable portion of the troops that remained on the Leipsic side, were abandoned to all the horrors of despair. The greater part of them were either killed, taken prisoners, or drowned in the stream, in a vain attempt to gain the opposite bank. Amongst this number was the gallant, and noble-minded Poniatowski.

At no period in the modern French annals had the Gallic armies sustained so signal and so dreadful a defeat. They lost, on the 18th and 19th, upwards of 80,000 men, including prisoners, 150 pieces of cannon, and an immense quantity of baggage. Leipsic immediately surrendered, and its example was speedily followed by the French fortresses in Germany.

Those in Prussia and Poland (with the exception of Dantzic) had long before capitulated.

In Dresden alone, the garrison amounted to 27,000 men besides immense magazines.

The French army, shorn alike of its reputation, numbers, and *materiel*, was not destined to reach the banks of the Rhine without another struggle; it was briskly pursued by Blücher and Czernicheff, and overtaken at Hanau by the Bavarians under that General Wrede who had so long fought in its ranks and by its side. In this battle the French claim a decided victory; a claim disputed with them by the Bavarians. But supposing the victory to have been really gained by the former, it could have had no other effect than to enable them to accomplish their retreat; and as that retreat, though with prodigious loss, including almost the whole of their artillery, was finally effected, the Bavarians certainly missed their aim. It is impossible adequately to praise the military skill which distinguished every part of this memorable campaign on the side of the allies; it rivetted the attention, and excited the admiration of all Europe. While the laurels of Napoleon were withering on his brow, it must be allowed that the difficulties of his situation were great; that he was encountered by more numerous forces, and those of a better quality than his own; and that the circumstances of his opponents gave them the inestimable advantage of selecting their own periods for, and points of, attack; and that the preliminary arrangements of the campaign were sketched by one of the greatest warriors whom France ever produced, Moreau.

The reception of Napoleon on his return to Paris was extremely cold: the enthusiasm of his subjects was no more. The Russian campaign had destroyed three-fourths of his veteran soldiers. The German campaign had cropped the fairest blossoms of the youth of France. Disgrace and accumulated disaster had terminated each campaign; and the universal voice of the people was unequivocally pronounced for peace. But Napoleon was no longer master of his own passions; spoiled

by former prosperity and the pernicious adulation of his flatterers, he disregarded the fervent prayers of the French; and, in return, in the hour of his greatest distress, a large proportion of them refused to follow his standard. A strong impression was also made in France by the moderate tone of the manifesto of the Allied Powers when on the point of crossing the frontiers.

A new spirit arose in the Legislative Body. The extremity of the danger, and the impending invasion of France, restored to that assembly an expression of real patriotism and independence of which there are no traces in the prosperous period of the government of the Emperor. Napoleon, instead of conforming to this change, and availing himself of it to obtain favourable terms for France from the allies; or, if disappointed in that aim, identifying his own personal cause with that of the country, was so imprudent as to quarrel with the popular representatives. A rupture of this kind, in circumstances so awfully critical, could not fail to have a most prejudicial influence upon his affairs, the position of which, at that juncture, menaced him with destruction.

The British army in the Peninsula having gained the glorious battles of Salamanca and Vittoria, and liberated Spain and Portugal from the French yoke, were about to cross the Pyrenees, and for the first time for nearly 500 years, to raise the British standard in the smiling plains of Gascony.

The French troops in Italy were outnumbered by the Austrians, and to them it was not in his power to send any reinforcements. Holland had cast off his yoke, and the government of the House of Orange was restored in that country. At the beginning of the year 1814, the wrecks of the force that Napoleon had brought from Hanau had been gradually withdrawn from the Rhine to positions within the frontiers, in proportion as the allied troops advanced. Aware of the imminent dangers which threatened him, the Emperor taxed his faculties to the utmost. Every expedient which human ingenuity could devise, excepting that which could alone now satisfy the French nation, namely, the establishment of a free



and liberal government, was tried to excite the popular feeling against the invaders. Free corps, as they were termed; that is, bodies of men who subsisted themselves, and were to carry on a desultory warfare against the allies, nearly in the same manner as the Guerilla parties had been accustomed to act in Spain, were organized in those departments which had become the theatre of the war. The best troops he could collect from different quarters were assembled under his own immediate command; and at the head of about 70,000 men, he fought at St. Dizien, on the 27th of January, 1814, the first battle of this campaign. In that action he was defeated with the loss of 176 pieces of cannon; but he retreated slowly and in good order towards Paris. So desperately was this battle contested, that Napoleon had two horses shot under him.

The plan of the allies in this campaign, was nearly similar to that which had proved so eminently successful in Germany; namely, first to harass and distract the enemy, and then to surround and crush his army. In furtherance of this scheme, the allied troops, whose collective force was probably not much inferior to 200,000 men, advanced towards Paris in two lines. That proceeding through the northern part of Champagne was composed of Prussians and Russians, commanded by Blucher, Kleist, Langeron, &c.; the other, an Austrian army, took the lower or southern road. The army under Napoleon acted between these great bodies, and his policy was to take advantage of any error they might commit. Such an opportunity was soon presented. The Prussian army had incautiously extended its front, and thereby weakened the centre. The military eye of Napoleon immediately discovered this fault, of which he hastened to take advantage.

At Montmirail, Champaubert, and La Ferte, villages in Champagne, he attacked the Prussians with the greatest vigour, having first defeated their centre with great loss. He followed up the blow, and compelled Blucher to retire with his army, considerably diminished, to Chalons. But his attention was now recalled to the defence of Paris, by the advance of the Austrian army, which had reached the forest of Fon-

tainbleau, and approached within thirty-five miles of the capital city. He traversed with amazing rapidity Champagne, and uniting the imperial guards, and some small divisions he had brought with him, to the force which had been left to hold in check the Austrian army, he attacked the advanced guard of that army, commanded by the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, at Nangis, in the neighbourhood of Melun, and defeated them with great loss.

Disconcerted by this movement, Prince Schwartzenburg retired, and retraced his steps as far as the ancient town of Troyes, still vigorously pressed by Napoleon. It was abandoned without much resistance; and into this town Napoleon entered as a conquerer.

The situation of the allies now became critical. The season of the year, the rapidity of their march, and the untaken and well garrisoned fortresses in their rear, had prevented the formation of magazines. Napoleon's scheme for establishing free companies, had, to a certain degree succeeded, since their convoys were subject to interception. The flank and rear of the Austrian army were moreover menaced by Augerau's corps, originally destined to defend Lyons, but which might now be brought to act in such a manner as to render the Austrian position no longer tenable.

Influenced by these weighty considerations, and also by the negotiation for a general peace between Napoleon and the whole of the allied powers, which was actively carried on at Chatillon, propositions were made for an armistice, and nearly agreed upon.

This was the time for Napoleon to have withdrawn with greater advantage from the contest, than at the beginning of the campaign.

The skill, activity, and fortitude he had shewn in contending so successfully against such powerful odds, had exalted his military character, which was now restored to a considerable portion of its former brightness. Indeed, the actions we have enumerated, are perhaps the most splendid of his whole career; but the blood of innumerable victims, sacrificed to

his dark suspicions and arrogant ambition, called aloud for vengeance. It seemed consistent with the economy of the divine administration, so far as the discovery of its general principles has been permitted to men, that the author of such extensive and complicated misery abroad should be exemplarily punished at home. Negotiations for an armistice, and for a general peace (the latter of which was so far advanced, that Napoleon was actually on the point of signing it) ceased; and hostilities, which had never been suspended, were carried on with greater vigour and animosity. From that moment the fortune of Napoleon declined. The indefatigable Blucher having re-assembled and reinforced the different divisions of his army, renewed his hostile movement in the north. Napoleon left as strong a force at Bar-sur-Aube as he could spare, followed Blucher, and fought, at the village of Craon, about fifty miles N.N.E. of Paris, a sanguinary battle which lasted two days. On the first day the advantage seemed to incline to the French, but on the second Napoleon was repulsed, and withdrew. The loss of men on each side was nearly equal; but the French abandoned upwards of 50 pieces of cannon.

Profiting by the absence of the Emperor, Prince Schwartzburg attacked, and completely defeated the corps left at Bar-sur-Aube, after which his movements once more threatened Paris. Napoleon, followed to a certain point by the Prussians, proceeded to interpose his whole force between that city and the Austrians. He now formed one of the boldest designs which military history records. Having appointed his brother Joseph his lieutenant in Paris, thrown up intrenchments, increased the number of troops in the capital, and prepared it, as he conceived, to withstand an assault for some days, he determined, with the remainder of his army, to pass between the Austrian and Russian forces, and by that means get into their rear, communicate with his fortresses, seize upon the military stores of the allies, and either compel them to capitulate from the total want of provisions, or to retire towards the Rhine.

It belongs to military men to discuss the practicability of



this plan. One remark, however, we shall hazard, which is this: the failure of his attack at Craon upon Blücher, and the rapid diminution of his army, which could, with great difficulty, and at very uncertain intervals, be reinforced, held out the prospect of swift and irreversible ruin, if he remained between two powerful armies, each superior to his own, and whose junction it did not appear possible much longer to retard. Acting upon this project, Napoleon passed the Austrian army at St. Dizier, and proceeded to the eastward, an operation which was not accomplished without loss. On this occasion he refused the Austrians' offer of battle. The allies, in their turn, now formed a bold and masterly design. They resolved to unite their forces and march to Paris; but before this junction was effected, they demolished some small corps proceeding to join Napoleon. The gallantry of a division of about 4000 troops, chiefly conscripts, excited universal admiration. This little corps refused every proposition to surrender, and forming themselves into a square, sold their blood dearly. The Austrians left a rear guard to amuse Napoleon, who fell into the snare; in the meantime the allies continued their march, arriving at the heights of Montmartre, (the Highgate of Paris). They were vigorously opposed. The youths of the Pyrotechnic school served the artillery with such effect as to produce a very serious loss to the assailants, who were bravely withstood likewise by the regular troops. Before the battle was terminated, a violent ferment prevailed in Paris. The general cry was for capitulation. Joseph Buonaparte, destitute alike of mental resolution as of military skill, could not controul the popular feeling. The French forces which occupied the position in and about Montmartre amounted to about 40,000 men, with 150 pieces of cannon; of these 30,000 were national guards. The battle lasted for many hours, but was at length terminated in the complete defeat of the French, who lost all their artillery. The Duke of Ragusa (Marimont) then sent a flag of truce to treat for the surrender of Paris. The terms were soon agreed upon; and, on the 31st March 1814, the allies took possession

of the metropolis. This great event decided the fate of Napoleon. In every stage of the revolution, the example of the metropolis had divided a vast majority of the provincials; whilst it remained firm to the French Emperor, it was an immense magazine, whence he drew continual supplies of money, troops, and military stores. Undeceived at length as to the real object of the allies, he hastened by forced marches towards Paris, and arrived at Fontainebleau with an army of about 40,000 men: but he arrived too late; the blow had been struck.

We cannot find room for minute details of the important events which followed. The public documents are much too voluminous to be quoted; we can only afford space for one or two: the following is the declaration of the Emperor of Russia.

“The armies of the Allied Powers have occupied the capital of France; the Allied Sovereigns receive favourably the wish of the French nation.

“They declare, that if the conditions of peace ought to contain stronger guarantees when the question was to bind down the ambition of Buonaparte; they may be more favourable when, by a return to a wise government, France herself offers the assurance of this repose.

“The sovereigns proclaim in consequence, that they will no more treat with Napoleon Buonaparte, nor with any of his family.

“That they respect the integrity of ancient France, as it existed under its legitimate kings: they may even do more, because they profess it as a principle, that for the happiness of Europe, France must be great and strong.

“That they will recognize and guarantee the constitution which France shall adopt. They therefore invite the senate to name immediately a Provisional Government, which may provide for the wants of the administration, and prepare the constitution which shall suit the French people.

“The intentions which I have just expressed, are common to all the Allied Powers.

(Signed)

“ALEXANDER.

“*Paris, March 31st, 3 o'clock in the afternoon.*”

The Senate decreed the deposition of Napoleon upon various grounds.

This was succeeded by a treaty, confirming to Napoleon during his life the title of Emperor; and recognising the members of his house as Princes of his family. This treaty is too important to allow us to present it to our readers in an abridged form; we therefore detail it *verbatim*.

Art. 1. "His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon renounces for himself, his successors, and descendants, as well as for all the members of his family, all right of sovereignty and dominion, as well to the French empire, and the kingdom of Italy, as over every other country.

Art. 2. "Their Majesties the Emperor Napoleon and Maria Louisa, shall retain their titles and rank, to be enjoyed during their lives. The mother, the brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces of the Emperor, shall also retain, wherever they may reside, the titles of Princes of his family.

Art. 3. "The Isle of Elba, adopted by his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, as the place of his residence, shall form, during his life, a separate principality, which shall be possessed by him in full sovereignty and property; there shall be besides granted, in full property, to the Emperor Napoleon, an annual revenue of 2,000,000 francs, in rent-charge, in the great book of France, of which 1,000,000 shall be in reversion to the Empress.

Art. 4. "The duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, shall be granted, in full property and sovereignty to her Majesty the Empress Maria Louisa; they shall pass to her son, and to the descendants in the right line. The Prince, her son, shall from henceforth take the title of Prince of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla.

Art. 5. "All the powers engage to employ their good offices to cause to be respected by the Barbary powers, the flag and territory of the Isle of Elba, for which purpose the relations with the Barbary powers shall be assimilated to those with France.

Art. 6. "There shall be reserved in the territories hereby renounced to his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon for himself



and family, domains or rent-charges in the great book of France, producing a revenue, clear of all deductions and charges, of 2,500,000 francs. These domains and rents shall belong, in full property, and to be disposed of as they shall think fit, to the Princes and Princesses of his family, and shall be divided amongst them in such manner that the revenue of each shall be in the following proportion, viz. :

	FRANCS.
“ To Madame Mère - - -	300,000
“ To King Joseph and his Queen - -	500,000
“ To King Louis - - -	200,000
“ To the Queen Hortense and to her children	400,000
“ To King Jerome and his Queen - -	500,000
“ To the Princess Eliza - - -	300,000
“ To the Princess Paulina - - -	300,000
	<hr/>
	2,500,000
	<hr/>

“ The Princes and Princesses of the house of the Emperor Napoleon, shall retain besides, their property, moveable and immoveable, of whatever nature it may be, which they shall possess by individual and public right, and the rents of which they shall enjoy (also as individuals).

Art. 7. “ The annual pension of the Empress Josephine shall be reduced to 1,000,000, in domains, or in inscriptions in the great book of France: she shall continue to enjoy, in full property, all her private property, moveable and immoveable, with power to dispose of it conformably to the French laws.

Art. 8. “ There shall be granted to Prince Eugene, Viceroy of Italy, a suitable establishment out of France.

Art. 9. “ The property which his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon possesses in France, either as extraordinary domain, or as private domain attached to the crown, the funds placed by the Emperor either in the great book of France, in the bank of France, in the *action des forêts*, or in any other manner, and which his Majesty abandons to the crown, shall be reserved as a capital, which shall not exceed 2,000,000, to be expended in gratifications in favour of such persons, whose

names shall be contained in a list to be signed by the Emperor Napoleon, and which shall be transmitted to the French Government.

Art. 10. " All the crown diamonds shall remain in France.

Art. 11. " His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon shall return to the treasury, and to the other public chests, all the sums and effects that shall have been taken out by his orders, with the exception of what has been appropriated from the civil list.

Art. 12. " The debts of the household of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, such as they were on the day of the signature of the present treaty, shall be immediately discharged out of the arrears due by the public treasury to the civil list, according to a list which shall be signed by a commissioner appointed for that purpose.

Art. 13. " The obligations of the Mont-Napoleon, of Milan, towards all the creditors, whether Frenchmen or foreigners, shall be exactly fulfilled, unless there shall be any change made in this respect.

Art. 14. " There shall be given all the necessary passports for the free passage of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, or of the Empress, the Princes and Princesses, and all the persons of their suites who wish to accompany them, or to establish themselves out of France, as well as for the passage of all the equipages, horses, and effects belonging to them. The Allied Powers shall, in consequence, furnish officers and men for escorts.

Art. 15. " The French imperial guard shall furnish a detachment of from 12 to 1500 men, of all arms, to serve as an escort to the Emperor Napoleon to St. Tropez, the place of his embarkation.

Art. 16. " There shall be furnished a corvette and the necessary transport vessels to convey to the place of his destination his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon and his household; and the corvette shall belong, in full property, to his Majesty the Emperor.

Art. 17. " The Emperor Napoleon shall be allowed to take with him, and retain as his guard, 400 men, volunteers, as well officers as sub-officers and soldiers.

Art. 18. "No Frenchman who shall have followed the Emperor Napoleon or his family, shall be held to have forfeited his rights as such, by not returning to France within three years; at least, they shall not be comprised in the exceptions which the French Government reserves to itself to grant after the expiration of that term.

Art. 19. "The Polish troops, of all arms, in the service of France, shall be at liberty to return home, and shall retain their arms and baggage, as a testimony of their honourable services. The officers, sub-officers, and soldiers, shall retain the decorations which have been granted to them, and the pensions annexed to those decorations.

Art. 20. "The high Allied Powers guarantee the execution of all the articles of the present treaty, and engage to obtain that it shall be adopted and guaranteed by France.

Art. 21. "The present act shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Paris, within two days, or sooner, if possible.

"The Prince de Metternich, J. P. Comte de Stadion, Andre Comte de Rasamouffsky, Charles Robert Comte de Nesselrode, Castlereagh, Charles Auguste Baron de Hardenberg, Marshal Ney. (L. S.) Caulincourt."

"*Done at Paris, the 11th April, 1814.*"

The tranquillity of France, and the secure re-establishment of the house of Bourbon on the throne, required his immediate departure from France.

His journey to the sea-side, whither he was accompanied by commissioners from the allies, and by a military escort, was attended with very interesting circumstances. In some places where he was recognised, a feeble cry of *Vive l'Empereur!* was raised; in others, he was assailed with shouts of *Vive le Roi! A bas le Tyran!* In others again, he was received with sullen indifference, and in one or two instances he had reason to dread the effects of popular indignation. His own demeanor fluctuated between occasional attempts at cheerfulness and magnanimity, and the deepest depression, which at times betrayed him into the infirmity of shedding tears. Stunned by



the suddenness and greatness of his fall, from the proudest elevation in which man had ever been placed in modern times, his mind was driven from its poise; but when the first agonies of shame and regret were over, he conversed very frankly and courteously with the commissioners and his attendants. A small detachment of his guard followed him to Elba, and a few distinguished officers. We have not interrupted the thread of our narrative to notice in its natural order the reverses sustained by the French army in Italy, the defection of the King of Naples from the cause of his benefactor, and the re-conquest of the Netherlands. In any other drama than that, to the last scenes of which we are now approaching, these events would furnish an important under-plot; but in the overwhelming and tremendous interest of the grand catastrophe, they hardly rise by comparison to the distinction of bye-play. We have already said, that the first measures adopted by the allied monarchs, after they had conquered Napoleon, had in view the restoration of the Bourbons. Monsieur, the only brother of Louis XVIII., had joined the allied armies about the middle of the campaign, and had exerted himself to form a party in support of the royal crown.

Indeed, after the abdication of Napoleon, and the exclusion of his family, there was no alternative between the restoration of the Bourbons or the re-establishment of the Republic: the latter was absurdly impracticable. The senate, therefore, conforming itself to the pressure of circumstances, determined to call Louis XVIII. to the throne.

Monsieur, who, in the absence of Louis XVIII., had been appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, objected to certain parts of the proposed plan of government, but declared the readiness of his royal brother to adopt the spirit of its leading provisions.

Apprized of the favourable turn which affairs had taken in France, Louis prepared to leave this country and re-ascend the throne of his ancestors. His reception in France appeared most flattering: every where addresses, fraught with expressions of the most fervent loyalty, were presented, and graciously received. The different corps of the French army expressed

themselves satisfied with the new order of things. Treaties of peace between France and the allied powers restored to her her ancient territories in Europe, and her colonial possessions, with the exceptions chiefly of the Mauritius and Pondicherry. A general disposition prevailed at this period throughout France to support the new government, and to enjoy the blessings (more precious, because almost new to the rising generation) of tranquillity abroad, and a moderate degree of freedom at home. Commerce revived; and as the military profession ceased to be the only avenue to distinction, the lively and mercurial genius of the nation had begun to seek out other and less dangerous pursuits. But whilst the surface teemed with flowers, a revolutionary flame was re-kindled in the centre. To comprehend the immediate causes of this fatal change, we must recollect that at the epoch of the restoration, the French nation was divided into four parties.

The first was composed of the Buonapartists, which reckoned amongst its principal adherents a large proportion of that immense number of public functionaries whom Napoleon had been accustomed to employ in his domestic administration, and who constituted the tendons and muscles by which he set in motion the colossal body of his government.

To this party an infinite majority of the officers and soldiers of the line adhered, who despised the Bourbons for their pacific temper, hated them as the despoilers of their former master, and panted for an opportunity of effacing the disgrace of their arms, and of exchanging a life of penury at home for one of license and military glory abroad. This dangerous body was naturally distrusted, but unwisely irritated by the administration of Louis. They complained, and perhaps with some justice, that their stipends were irregularly paid; that their former services to their country were disregarded; and, above all, that many of the emigrant nobility, who, if they had ever borne arms, had wielded them against France, were promoted to the exclusion of veterans who had fought and bled in what they deemed the defence of the rights, and the advancement of the glory of France.

The second party was composed of the Jacobins; men who

idolized the theory of a republic, and who, although they had from motives of self-interest and fear concurred in the assumption of the imperial title by Napoleon, yet had never cordially forgiven his elevation to the sovereign power. This faction mortally hated the Bourbons. Their numbers were small, and their moral influence trifling; for they were detested and feared by the great bulk of the people; but amongst them were found men of the most powerful talents, desperate courage, and remorseless guilt: of themselves they would do little; but they were the ready auxiliaries of the Buonapartists, and, by ordinary observers, were often confounded with them.

The third party, the most numerous, and indisputably the most respectable in the state, was composed of men whose attachment was directed less to the persons, and to the hereditary rights of the House of Bourbon, than to the provisions of the charter which Louis had granted. This body included a vast proportion of the small landed proprietors in France, who had become purchasers of the national domains, and almost the whole of the mercantile interest. They reviewed, first with curiosity, then with interest, and finally, with apprehension, the measures of the Royal Government. They saw, or imagined that they saw, a disposition in the ministry to proceed by slow but sure steps to the abrogation of some of the most important provisions of the charter. They conceived that it was intended to call in question the sales of national domains, upon the inviolable maintainance of which the very existence of four millions of men depended. They dreaded the increasing influence of the emigrant nobility, and shuddered at the most distant apprehension of being once more reduced to be hewers of wood and drawers of water to their former lords; and those apprehensions, certainly ill-founded, obtained a fatal consistency by the daring imprudence of some retainers of the *noblesse*, who ventured openly to foretel a speedy restoration of the ancient aristocratical privileges. The emigrant clergy also excited their dislike, conscious, as many small proprietors were, that they were partakers of the spoils of church property; and, under this impression, the piety of the court was offensive. The frequency of religious processions, so zealously



supported by the Duke and Duchess d'Angoulême and the Duke de Berry, was a novelty which excited more of the ridicule than the devotion of the people at large.

The shackles imposed upon the liberty of the press was another and increasing ground of dissatisfaction. The censorship exercised by the Government over the public journals, and works of every description, was a signal calamity to the country and to the cause of the Bourbons. The people ceased to credit what they knew were not the free opinions of the writers of those journals and works; and the administration was deprived of the inestimable advantage of collecting, upon important questions, the genuine feelings of the country, and thereby ascertaining when it could safely advance, or prudently recede.

The fourth, and last party, infinitely the least numerous in the state, and for the reasons already mentioned, generally disliked by the other three parties, consisted of the nobility and clergy who had quitted France at the time of the Revolution. Amongst these classes were doubtless many honourable, and some distinguished individuals: the constancy with which such of them as resided in this country, supported their misfortunes, and the alacrity with which most of them, entering on active and useful employment, earned the delicious bread of independence, were indications of a real elevation of mind which gave to its possessors a moral rank superior to the secular distinctions of which they had been deprived; but, however individually estimable they might be, few of them possessed any portion of political sagacity, and a still smaller number restrained their expectations and claims within any reasonable or moderate bounds. Naturally averse to the revolution, which had wrested from them their possessions, and to the institutions which rendered all French subjects equal in the eye of the law, the royal family were besieged with applications which, from just feelings of gratitude, it was painful to refuse, and with which it was impossible to comply, without violating the fundamental laws of the regenerated monarchy, and causing the sceptre of the amiable and worthy Louis to tremble in his hands.

To the counsels of these persons, who, perhaps, with pure intentions, were the most dangerous enemies of the government, not to the violence or treachery of the sovereign, may be ascribed those acts capable of being misinterpreted, which furnished a pretence to his enemies for effecting a counter-revolution.

To the particular causes of dissatisfaction we have just enumerated, and which applied severally to each of the first-mentioned three parties in the state, we may add, that the national pride was humbled by the impression, which the enemies of the government inculcated, that she had received her sovereign from the hands of conquerors, and that that monarch, from the impulse of a gratitude which did honour to the nobleness of his feelings, had ascribed his restoration to his royal benefactor in this country, had dated his first proclamation in the 20th year of his reign, and had granted, as of his own personal authority, the charter of the liberties of France.

Having thus stated the leading causes of the discontent which existed in France soon after the accession of Louis XVIII., (on the validity of which there can be but little question,) it is fair to add, that this dissatisfaction, whether well or ill-founded, was the result rather of general deductions than of specific facts, with the exception of the restriction on the liberty of the press; that the domestic government of Louis is allowed by every impartial person to have been, in various and most important respects, honourable to himself and useful to his country. The air of liberty was once more breathed by Frenchmen; the system of *espionage* had ceased; the reign of terror was no more; the conscription no longer darkened the land with mourners; order was established in the finances; to the extent of its pecuniary means, the administration was strictly just; and public credit revived. France respected abroad, only required tranquillity at home. Time and patience, and the wise and moderate character of the princes, might have remedied any imperfection in the charter: at all events, we must allow that the restoration had materially increased the civil rights, and of necessity, therefore, had multiplied the defences of the personal liberty, property, and life of every Frenchman.

After this digression, (which was absolutely necessary to explain the extraordinary events we are now to record,) we return once more to Napoleon, who, on his arrival at Elba, devoted himself, for some time, to all appearance, exclusively to the administration of the affairs of his little empire, projecting and originating various improvements, and amusing himself with the occasional society of strangers of high rank, who crowded to see and converse with him. In these colloquies he was often facetious; rarely seen dejected. He seemed to have discarded all recollections of that towering eminence to which fortune and talents had conducted him, and from which he had been hurled by the excess of imprudence, combined with the excess of moral and political crime. His little fleet safely navigated the Mediterranean; and it is likely that he might have been permanently reconciled to his destiny had not the discontents in France held out a temptation, which a haughty and aspiring spirit like his could not withstand. Besides, he complained that his allowance, stipulated in the treaty of abdication, had been very irregularly paid, and that the Emperor of Austria had sequestered the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, which were, by that treaty, to be the inheritance of his son.

A sudden change was remarked in his demeanour: he became thoughtful and abstracted, and would no longer be approached, with his former facility, by strangers. The ameliorations he had designed in Elba were relinquished. It was evident to those who approached him, that his mind teemed with some great enterprize. Indeed, a regular conspiracy was now formed in France against the Bourbons: it comprehended an immense number of subaltern and many superior officers of the line; but the principal civil agitators were the Jacobins, who feared and disliked Napoleon, and would gladly have resorted to another leader, could they have selected a man possessing sufficient influence and energy to embark and prosper in such an enterprize. It was necessity only which compelled this party to identify their cause with the restoration of the Ex-Emperor, and in the arrangements stipulated between them and him, it was decided, that the government



to be established in France, upon the expulsion of the Bourbons, should be a monarchy strictly limited.

The conspiracy now became more formidable. The well-known symbol of the violet was the badge of the conspirators, and the motto "*Il reviendra au printemps*," the watch-word by which they communicated with, and identified each other. Another characteristic of the combination was its secrecy. The correspondence with Napoleon was chiefly conducted by means of his sisters, who resided in Italy; and the plot was matured and ready to be carried into execution ere the government of Louis received any intimation of their danger. The completion of it was postponed until the arrival of the French regular troops, who had been taken prisoners in Germany and Russia, and whose enthusiastic attachment to their leader ensured their immediate accession to the conspiracy.

Every preliminary measure having been taken, Napoleon, with four vessels, comprising the small garrison of Elba, (about 1000 men), and accompanied by his faithful follower, Count Bertrand, quitted that island on the evening of 26th February, 1815, and steered for Frejus, in Provence. On his passage, and very near to Elba, he was encountered by a French armed ship. The soldiers who were on board Napoleon's squadron, received orders to lie down on the deck, while one of his suite, who was personally acquainted with the captain of the vessel, hailed her, and amused him with a relation that the flotilla was bound for Genoa. Another, and a much more formidable obstruction presented itself; this was no other than a fleet of 6 or 7 English ships, which was descried from the mast-head, but which did not appear to notice the flotilla.

On the 1st March he landed at Cannes, near Frejus, in Provence. The astonishment of the people cannot be described; but his first reception was unfavourable, and a detachment which he sent forward to Antibes, was captured. Embarked in one of the boldest and most hazardous enterprises ever undertaken by man, delay was defeat; hesitation was ruin. He therefore immediately departed for Dauphiné, and marched on 2d May 60 miles. Pursuing his rout with extraordinary rapidity, and generally in advance of his little army,

he arrived on the 5th May at a small village in Dauphinè, where he met the advanced guard of a column of 6000 men, sent from Grenoble to oppose his progress. This detachment was chiefly composed of old troops, who had served under Napoleon in Italy. As soon as he descried them, he advanced before his escort, who had shouldered their arms, and spoke nearly as follows: "Soldiers, it has been reported that I am a coward: here I am," opening his waistcoat; "if you think so, shoot your Emperor." The dramatic effect of this scene realized all the hopes of Napoleon. The soldiers unanimously shouted *Vive l'Empereur!* and fell into his ranks.

At the same moment Colonel Labeledoyere, who commanded one of the regiments composing the garrison of Grenoble, joined his standard. Thus reinforced, he proceeded with all expedition to Grenoble, whither the remainder of the garrison had re-entered.

The same feeling appeared to animate the garrison as had electrified the detachment. The gates, which had been closed, were taken off the hinges and brought to the Ex-Emperor, who entered the fortress in triumph. It was in vain that General Marchand endeavoured to recall the soldiers to their duty; his life had nearly paid the forfeiture of his allegiance to his lawful sovereign. The acquisition of Grenoble, one of the strongest places in the south of France, and filled with military stores, was of the highest utility to Napoleon. It gave an *eclat* to his enterprise, and enabled him to proceed to Lyons with a force of nearly 10,000 veteran troops.

In the mean time the government of Louis took the most strenuous measures to repel the danger. By a royal decree Napoleon was declared a traitor and an outlaw. The Duke of Tarentum, accompanied by Monsieur and the Duke of Orleans, proceeded to Lyons, whither a large body of troops had been directed by forced marches. In a public order of the day, signed by the minister at war, (the Duke of Dalmatia,) and addressed to the French army, Napoleon was stigmatized as a deserter and an enemy to France. The Chamber of Peers and Deputies avowed the most fervent loyalty to Louis. The Prince of Moskwa departed from Paris to repair to Lons le

Sauhnier, a town to the north-east of Lyons, where a considerable corps was assembled, promising that he would bring Napoleon to Paris dead or alive: but under all these fair professions treason generally lurked.

On the arrival of the French prisoners at Lyons, they were well received by the national guards; but the troops of the line preserved a gloomy and a dreadful silence. As a last effort, an attempt was made to seize upon two of the bridges of the city; but it failed: and now deserted by the troops of the line, to whom the national guard could offer no effectual resistance, Monsieur, the Duke of Orleans, and the Duke of Tarentum quitted the city, which was entered in triumph by Napoleon on 11th March, to whom the garrison immediately deserted, and their example was speedily followed by the national guard. The populace were decidedly in his favour. On the 13th he resumed his march. Wherever he appeared, vast multitudes crowded around him, and in the vicinity of Auxerre, he was joined by the troops under the Prince of the Moskwa, who himself sanctioned the defection of his corps by a proclamation.

Although now at the head of nearly 30,000 men, Napoleon still continued to precede the troops, either in an open carriage or on horseback; and, until he reached Montereau, nothing like resistance had been opposed to him. Here a detachment of the royal body guards had been ordered to destroy the bridge; but they were anticipated by the insurgent army. The royal guard fled, and lost two prisoners.

On approaching Paris a most extraordinary scene occurred. As a *dernier resort*, the King had assembled all the forces in the capital, on whom he thought he could depend, and united them to the national guards; thus constituting an army of upwards of 30,000 men, with a formidable train of artillery. This force was drawn up on the road to Fontainebleau, in order of battle, awaiting, in profound silence, the arrival of the insurgent army: opposite to its position, and in the centre was a range of heights. Suddenly a body of cavalry appeared slowly descending the heights, and before them an open carriage with Napoleon, without any military escort. Before the



soldiers could recover from their surprise he was in their ranks, addressing them on all sides, and apostrophizing each regiment. The troops whom he first met trampled on the white cockade, and shouted *Vive l'Empereur!* The cry resounded from rank to rank; all order and subordination were at an end. The national guard caught the impulse, and at the head of that very army which had assembled in the morning to oppose him, he entered triumphantly into Paris on the 19th March. On reaching the Thuilleries, an immense crowd of subaltern officers had assembled at the foot of the great staircase, and carried him in their arms into the saloon.

In this manner, with almost incredible rapidity, and without the effusion of blood, was achieved a revolution, to which, under all its circumstances, history affords no resemblance. The King, on hearing the defection of the army on which he had relied for defending his capital, quitted Paris in the evening of the 19th, accompanied by Monsieur and the Duke de Berri, and took the route to the frontiers. His first destination was Lille, where Marshal Mortier (Duke of Treviso) commanded. The troops on his route, struck with reverence and a sense of duty, for a short time conducted themselves to the royal fugitive with decency and outward submission; but their patience was soon exhausted, and the Duke of Treviso was compelled to inform his master that he could not answer for his safety if he remained longer on the frontiers. In consequence of this admonition Louis repaired to Ghent, where he remained until the campaign was decided.

Upon his quitting France, he issued a proclamation, in which he called upon all Frenchmen to rally round the standard of the successor of St. Louis, and abandon the falling cause of the usurper; at the same time protesting against all acts of the imperial government.

Whilst these events occurred in the north, the Duke and Duchess d'Angoulême raised the standard of loyalty in the south of France: the Duke de Bourbon attempted the same thing in Bretagne, but failed. One of the first objects of Napoleon was to establish a ministry; and in selecting the members,

it was evident that he had been constrained to put himself into the hands of the Jacobins. General Carnot, an officer of distinguished science and reputation, formerly a member of the Committee of Public Safety, and who had most gallantly defended Antwerp in the campaign of 1814, was appointed Minister of the Interior, with the title of Count. In a state of affairs so difficult and precarious, no situation could be more confidential, nor any more important. Certainly extensive powers could not have been committed to abler hands. Another distinguished Jacobin, (to whom Napoleon was now reconciled,) was his brother Lucien. In the zenith of Napoleon's prosperity, Lucien had quarrelled with him, and sought in foreign countries, and even in England itself, a refuge from his haughty and persecuting temper: but when the Ex-Emperor had been humbled by adversity, Lucien no longer disdained his advances.

All the emigrants who had returned with Louis to France, were banished; the property of the Bourbons was confiscated; the Legion of Honour restored to its original splendor and decorations; and, generally, all the institutions of the imperial government were renewed, which were compatible with the genius of a monarchy strictly limited. But the chief attention of Napoleon was directed to the state of the army, which had been very much reduced in number, quality, and equipment, by his predecessor. His exertions in recruiting his forces; in storing the *depôts*; in creating a formidable train of artillery; mounting the cavalry; establishing manufactories for small arms; providing clothing; and supplying the fortresses on the frontiers with all the necessaries to sustain sieges for six months, were almost miraculous, and such as probably no other man but himself, environed by so many dangers, and perplexed by so many cares, could have effected within so brief a period as ten weeks. Other considerations, equally important, engaged his attention.

Aware that his present power, unsupported even by the shadow of a popular election, was palpably usurped, he appointed a great confederation of delegates from all the de-

partments, to assemble in the capital on the 31st May, and swear fidelity to a constitution which would by that time be submitted to the people at large, and which would contain strict limitations upon the exercise of the sovereign authority. As an earnest of his intention to reign in future as a constitutional prince, he accepted graciously an address from the Council of State, which contained a direct censure upon the arbitrary spirit of his former administration. Professing an inviolable respect for the treaties into which Louis had entered, he ratified his resumption of the sovereign authority to all the monarchs of Europe, in a circular state paper, which also contained an enumeration of the grounds on which he rested his claim to be considered and recognised as a lawful prince.

But whilst he thus endeavoured to fortify his authority without, he was equally determined to establish it in the interior of France.

We have already stated that the Duke and Duchess d'Angoulême had proceeded to the southern department, where they were well received, especially at Marseilles and Bourdeaux. Some troops of the line espoused the royal cause, and the people generally in those departments were inclined to adhere to it; but General Clausel obtained possession of Bourdeaux, in the defence of which the Duchess displayed a magnanimity worthy the descendant of Henri IV., and which not only excited the admiration of her friends, but the respect of Napoleon himself. Her husband, closely pursued, was obliged to surrender, and obtain permission to quit France, on condition that the royal diamonds should be restored.

Marseilles surrendered, and the imperial government seemed re-established in every part of the country.

During these transactions in the interior of France, the allied sovereigns, by repeated proclamations, designated Napoleon as an usurper and outlaw; declared their inflexible determination to oppose him by force of arms, and to enter into no treaty which should leave him upon the throne. As



energetic in actions, as decided in words, the allied sovereigns (by whom we are to understand chiefly the monarchs of Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria) assembled their forces. The troops in the Netherlands (now united with Holland by the treaty of Vienna, and governed by the Prince of Orange, with the title of king) were strongly reinforced, and large armies, under the order of the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blucher, were organizing for the invasion of Picardy and Lorraine.

The southern and eastern departments of France were equally menaced with invasion by the troops of Russia and Austria; but the attention of the latter powers was seriously engaged in Italy, by the advance of Murat (King of Naples) into Tuscany.

This adventurer had long temporized between the allies and his brother-in-law, Napoleon. In the campaign of 1814 he assembled a large army against the Prince Viceroy; and his powerful co-operation turned the scale, until then equally poised, in that country in favour of the allies. Murat then urged his claims to the celebrated congress of Vienna, to be confirmed in the sovereignty of Naples; but those claims were ultimately rejected, on the ground of his insincere conduct. He then intrigued with Napoleon before his departure from Elba; precipitately took up arms, was completely beaten in the borders of the Roman states, and compelled to relinquish alike his project and his throne.

Justly alarmed at the power and hostile spirit of the confederacy against him, the Ex-Emperor adopted every measure which the most refined policy could suggest, to conciliate the affection and insure the support of the people; he restrained the natural turbulence and despotism of his temper, and seemed to devote all the energies of his mind unceasingly to the welfare of France. Those measures which had given umbrage during the royal government, were repealed. The liberty of the press was re-established.

A liberal and conciliatory spirit appeared to pervade the administration. Little blood was shed in the field, none on

the scaffold from domestic strife or conspiracy in consequence of his usurpation.

The slave trade was abolished, and the princes of the House of Bourbon, although they had proscribed him as a traitor and outlaw, were permitted, unmolested, to quit the territory of France, whilst it was in his power to have arrested and detained them as hostages for his own safety. By these prudent measures he increased the number and animated the spirit of his partizans: but men of reflection, in and out of France, who contrasted his present demeanour with his former despotism, doubted, not only the sincerity of his reformation, but still more the ability of France to withstand the tremendous array of power against her, while she was rent with factions, and the prince actually in possession of the government held his title by a tenure so frail and apparently so objectionable. The Chambers of Peers and Deputies, who held their session during the reign of Louis, having been dissolved, the additional act to the constitution appeared, which, had it been carried faithfully and perseveringly into execution in all its parts, would have certainly greatly extended the liberties, and therefore eminently conduced to the happiness, of the people.

The day of the grand confederation arrived. Deputations from the different regiments attended to receive the eagles which were thenceforth to become their standards. Delegates from the Electoral Colleges formed part of the brilliant *cortège*. The oath of fidelity to the constitution was taken first by Napoleon, then by the civil, and finally the military, part of this great assembly, which professed, on this important occasion, to represent the whole empire. The two Chambers, who had been directed by Napoleon to replace the different bodies of that name, met; and in the Lower House, or Chamber of Deputies, a disposition immediately appeared to discuss and criticise every measure of the administration. The Ex-Emperor was provoked by this unseasonable display of their independence, and although the indecency of an open rupture was avoided, yet it was evident to him, as well as to every sagacious observer, that the spirit of liberty had taken deep

root in France, and that in the event of the approaching conflict terminating in his favour, he would find it extremely difficult, perhaps impossible, to govern the country by his former despotic maxims.

From Napoleon's indefatigable activity, a large army, amounting to 130,000 men, the best disciplined, equipped, and devoted that France had ever sent into the field; was assembled in cantonments within the French frontier, on the side of the Netherlands. Very few of the principal marshals espoused the cause of Napoleon: amongst those actively employed, we only discover the names of the Princes of Eckmühl and of the Moskwa, and the Dukes of Dalmatia, Treviso, and Albufera (Suchet).

Napoleon's old associate in arms, the Prince of Neufchatel, the most respected and respectable officer in the French army, and perhaps one of the best tacticians in Europe, had been urgently solicited by Napoleon to resume his former functions as major-general of the grand army. The fidelity of the prince, it should appear, was not to be shaken, and, to end a contest between inclination and gratitude on the one hand, and a sense of duty on the other, he threw himself out of a window at Homburg, and perished.

Before we narrate the events of this immortal campaign, we must take a brief review of the positions and forces of the armies which opposed Napoleon. The forces of Prince Blücher consisted of 80,000 Prussians, cantoned in Charleroi, Ghent, Namur, and the left bank of the Sambre: another corps of Prussians, amounting to 30,000 men, under Bulow, occupied the country between Liege and Harnub. The Duke of Wellington's entire force was estimated at 80,000 men, from whom 15,000 being deducted for garrison, there will remain disposable for active service in the field, 65,000 men. This army was composed of troops of various nations, in the following proportions: British, 36,000; German Legion, 8000; Hanoverians, 14,000; Belgians, Brunswickers, and troops of Nassau, 22,000.

The army occupied the positions of Enghien, Braine-le-



Comte, Nivelles, Ath, Oudenard, Grammont, Brussels, Ghent, and Nievre, and could be all concentrated in twenty-four hours, along the whole eastern frontiers of France: separate armies were stationed, the most considerable of which was commanded by the Duke of Albufera. Napoleon quitted Paris on the 13th of June, at midnight, and arrived on the 14th at Avesnes. After issuing an energetic proclamation to his soldiers, he put his army in motion, which had been stationed at a little distance within the frontier, and so skilfully were his movements masked, that he debouched unexpectedly upon the Prussians, who were completely taken by surprise. On the 15th, at break of day, the advanced guard of the Prussians were attacked at Thuin, and repulsed as far as Marchienne-au-Point.

At Marchienne and Charleroi they attempted to make a stand, but in vain: they were finally driven out of the town, in which Napoleon established his head-quarters.

This event occurred at noon, and the French army had then proceeded about fifteen miles. The Prince of the Moskwa had passed the Sambre at Marchienne, with the second corps, and, proceeding on the road to Brussels, had attacked and repulsed a Belgian regiment at Frasnes.

The main body of the army continued their pursuit of the Prussians, who, now strongly reinforced and commanded by Blucher in person, turned upon their pursuers, when, after an obstinate action, in which neither party gained an inch of ground, the French retired towards Charleroi, and the Prussians towards Sombref. Thus ended the first day of the campaign, in which the French took above 1000 prisoners. Marshal Blucher had sent a courier to the Duke of Wellington, who, with most of the British officers, was present at a ball at Brussels, to apprise him of the affair at Charleroi, which he represented only as a skirmish. The Duke immediately gave orders for the troops to be in readiness to march at a moment's notice; and, at midnight, another courier arrived, with information of the real position of affairs.

Immediately the drum beat to arms; and in three hours

each regiment was on its march for Charleroi. Many of the officers accompanied them in their ball-dresses. His Grace proceeded at full speed with his staff to Quatre Bras; a position of great importance, as it was the point of intersection of the roads from Brussels to Charleroi, and from Nivelles to Namur, by which the British and Prussian armies communicated with each other.

Before we record the events of the 16th, we must state the plan adopted by Napoleon. Reserving to himself the bulk of the French army for the attack of Prince Blücher, he appropriated two corps, amounting together to about 45,000 men, whom he placed under the command of the Prince of the Moskwa, with orders to establish himself at Quatre Bras; engage and destroy the different corps of the English army as they came into the field; and then detach a considerable force to penetrate upon the flank and rear of the Prussian army.

We shall first present our readers with a sketch of that battle of the 16th, in which the French and English forces contended. The Prince of the Moskwa, taking under his immediate command the second corps, advanced upon Quatre Bras, and finding there only the second and fifth divisions of the English army, without cavalry or artillery, succeeded at first in making a considerable impression. A corps of Belgians, accompanied by the 42d regiment, were ordered to support a detachment, briskly pursued by the French. It so happened that the Belgians and British were separated. A column of lancers, lying in ambush, suddenly charged the 42d. Colonel Macara ordered the regiment to form a square; but before this manœuvre could be perfectly executed, two companies of that gallant regiment suffered considerably. Lieutenant-colonel Dick, who succeeded to the command upon the death of Colonel Macara, although wounded, bravely repulsed the charges of the enemy, which were renewed, until the regiment was diminished to a tenth of its original number, when the lancers were put to flight. The Prince of Orange, advancing too far, was wounded and taken prisoner,

although immediately rescued by a Belgian battalion: and now the battle wore an inauspicious aspect for the British, as their positions were forced, and the enemy had penetrated as far as the village of Quatre Bras.

The Duke of Wellington performed prodigies of valour and exposed his person to the hottest of the fire. The 92d regiment and the Guards particularly distinguished themselves: the former had concealed themselves in a ditch, and when a regiment of cuirassiers passed them at full speed, by a well-directed volley they destroyed the centre of the corps. The advance proceeded on their way to attack the Duke of Wellington and his staff, an enterprize which occasioned their extermination to the last man. The 92d regiment, on rising from the ditch, were saluted by a tremendous fire from a column of infantry: not dismayed by this reception, they expelled the enemy from a house and garden which they occupied; but, from the great loss they had sustained, they were obliged to retire. The 33d regiment had been broken by a charge of cavalry, and compelled to seek refuge in a wood, of which the enemy would speedily have become masters but for the opportune arrival of the Guards, who, notwithstanding they had marched twelve hours, formed into line, charged, and repulsed the assailants. On emerging from the wood, they were opposed by a division of French infantry, who were also driven back. In the pursuit their ranks were disordered, when they were charged in their turn by the French cavalry, who compelled them to retire for protection to the wood. On their arrival, they re-formed, and poured a volley upon the pursuing enemy, which obliged them to retreat. The Guards again advanced to the attack of the infantry, whom they had before discomfited; and again they were successful, when their progress was a second time arrested by the cavalry, and the friendly wood once more offered an asylum. The Guards being reinforced, the enemy were finally compelled to retire.

The Duke of Wellington now became the assailant. The French troops were driven from all their positions in advance.



The centre of the enemy's line wavered, when the Prince of the Moskwa sent for the first corps, which, whether with or without the orders of Napoleon, (for the point is still in obscurity,) had quitted its position in rear, and had marched to succour their comrades in the battle of Ligny. Disappointed in this important succour, the Prince ordered the reserve of the second corps into line: the infantry formed into squares, and, protected by the French cavalry, slowly, and in good order, retired to Frasne, from which all the efforts of the British could not dislodge them. Thus ended the action of Quatre Bras, which reflected the highest lustre on the British arms, inasmuch, as without cavalry and artillery, and with greatly inferior numbers during almost the whole of the day, they had repulsed the army under the Prince of the Moskwa, admirably furnished with both.

The Duke of Brunswick supported the distinguished honour of his house, and nobly fell in this engagement. The loss on each side amounted to about 4000 men. It was peculiarly fortunate that the first corps, amounting to about 25,000 men, was neutralised on this important day. Thrown into the scale against either the Duke of Wellington or Blucher, the balance might, in either case, have powerfully preponderated against the allies.

We must now return to Napoleon, who, with an army of about 80,000 men, attacked the Prussians at Ligny. The position selected by Blucher was a strong one, having in its front the villages of St. Amand and Ligny. The action began with an attack by the French upon the former which was carried. They then assailed Ligny, but could not penetrate beyond the centre of the village. In this point the battle raged with a murderous fury: the soldiers fought hand to hand; every house became a citadel; each hedge an intrenchment. Animated by the deadliest hatred, quarter was for a long time neither given nor taken, and a destructive fire from 200 pieces of cannon encumbered the earth with dead. On different parts of the line the action was maintained with the greatest obstinacy, and at one period victory inclined to the side of Blucher. The

Prussian troops, led on by that gallant veteran, regained the village of St. Amand, and recovered the summit of a height, where their artillery raked the French line. It was at this moment that Napoleon executed a beautiful and masterly manœuvre. Forming the imperial guard into a square column, they descended a ravine in front of the centre of the Prussian line, and disregarding a tremendous fire, ascended the opposite side in perfect order, when they charged the Prussians with the bayonet. The shock could not be withstood; the position was forced, and the communication between the centre and right wing of their army destroyed. The fate of the day was now decided. The Prussians retired slowly, and in good order. Darkness and fatigue prevented an active pursuit. It was in this battle that Blucher narrowly escaped death or captivity. Charging with a body of horse, which was repelled by the French cavalry, he was overthrown, and while lying on the ground, unable to extricate himself, they twice passed close to him. The Prussian loss was very severe, it amounted to between 20,000 and 25,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and 40 pieces of cannon: that of the French is estimated at about 12,000. After the battle, Blucher retired on Wavre; a movement which induced the Duke of Wellington, on the 17th, to fall back and take up the celebrated position of Waterloo. The retreat occasioned several skirmishes between the French and British cavalry, with alternate success, but no important action. Napoleon, having detached Marshal Grouchy with a force amounting to about 36,000 men to Wavre, to hold the army of Blucher in check, followed the British with the remainder of his forces. The day was dreadful, the rain fell in torrents, and the roads were nearly destroyed. The position taken up by the Duke of Wellington was admirably selected.

The British army occupied a rising ground, having in its front a gentle declivity. The extremity of the right wing was stationed at Merke Braine. The enclosed country and deep ravines round this village protected the right flank, and rendered it impossible for the enemy to turn it. In the centre

of the right was a country-house called Hougoumont, or Gomont (*le Chateau de Gomont*). The house was loop-holed, and strongly occupied; the garden and orchard were lined with light troops, and the wood before the house was maintained by some companies of the guards. The front of the right was thrown back, to avoid a ravine, which would have exposed it, and was nearly at right angles with the centre. It consisted of the second and fourth English divisions, the third and sixth Hanoverians, and the first of the Netherlands, and was commanded by Lord Hill. The centre was composed of the corps of the Prince of Orange, supported by the Brunswick and Nassau regiments, with the guards under General Cooke on the right, and the division of General Alten on the left. In front was the farm of La Haye Sainte, which was occupied in great force. The road from Genappe to Brussels ran through the middle of the centre. The left wing, consisting of the divisions of Generals Picton, Lambert, and Kempt, extended to the left of Ter la Haye, which it occupied, and the defiles of which protected the extremity of the left, and prevented it from being turned. The cavalry was principally posted in the rear of the left of the centre.

Separated by a valley varying from half to three-fourths of a mile in breadth, were other heights following the bending of those on which the British army was posted. The advanced guard of the French reached these heights in the evening of the 17th, and some skirmishes took place between the outposts.

The heights above-mentioned were crowned by the French army, with their artillery, on the night of the 17th, which inflicted dreadful sufferings on either host. The rain fell incessantly, and the soldiers were up to their knees in mud. At length dawned the morning of the glorious 18th of June.

Napoleon, having seized a farmer who lived at the house of La Belle Alliance, compelled him to mount on horseback, and guide him in an extensive *reconnaissance* of the country, and the British positions: an operation which lasted four or five hours. He then formed his army in divisions on the heights,



which slowly descended to the plain in the most beautiful order to the sound of martial music. The plan of the battle, arranged by each commander, was directly opposite, but admirably suited to their respective circumstances. It was strictly defensive on the part of the Duke of Wellington until he could be reinforced by Blücher.

The first scheme of Napoleon was to force the farm-house of Hougomont, which covered the centre of the allied position, ascend the height beyond it, and cleave asunder the British army; while, on the left, Grouchy, who had been ordered to march on Wavre, so as to arrive there at day-break on the 18th, was directed to keep the Prussians in check, and gradually inclining to St. Lambert, outflank the British army. By a providential misapprehension of, or disobedience to, his orders, Grouchy did not arrive at Wavre until midday, where he found a strong rear-guard under General Thielman, with whom he long maintained an obstinate conflict. The action commenced by a general cannonade along the line, and about half past 11 o'clock the French made a desperate attack on the farm-house of Hougomont. The wood in its centre was occupied by some battalions: after a glorious resistance, they were compelled to cede to the superior numbers of the enemy, who penetrated their position. Aware of the vital importance of this place, the Duke strongly reinforced the division by which it was occupied, and a most sanguinary and furious action ensued. Vainly did successive and massive columns of infantry, cavalry, and artillery assail it. The house was set on fire, and the combatants pursued the work of death in the midst of the flames, in which numbers of the wounded, who could not be removed, were literally consumed to ashes; but the French did not gain an inch of ground. To cover the real point of attack, Napoleon directed a general assault on the British line. Immense bodies of infantry and cavalry ascended the heights on which the British army rested, and assailed the squares, into which the Duke of Wellington, with admirable foresight, had formed it; but hitherto they could make no impression.

The principal aim of the French now was to possess themselves of the ground occupied by the divisions under Generals Picton and Kempt: On the left of the British, a strong column of the enemy advanced without firing a shot, when they were unexpectedly opposed by Sir Thomas Picton's corps, formed into a solid square. They fired a volley, hesitated, and fled; but that volley destroyed the brave General Picton. The French infantry being rallied, again pressed on, and gained ground on the Scotch division, when the heavy cavalry and 12th regiment of dragoons coming up opportunely to their succour, the French were obliged to retire. It was on this occasion that the 92d regiment, reduced to a handful of heroes, gained immortal honour. Charging full upon a column of 2000 men, they pierced the centre, and the Scotch greys, penetrating by the opening, annihilated the column, of whom not a man escaped. A division of French cavalry, composed in part of cuirassiers, advanced to rescue their infantry. A dreadful encounter ensued between them and the heavy dragoons and Scotch Greys, which terminated in the repulse of the French, who lost an immense number of men: the swords of the British cavalry being aimed at the undefended necks and limbs of the cuirassiers. Two French regiments lost their eagles.

It was at this moment that the gallant Sir William Ponsonby fell, transpierced by the Polish lancers: his death was nobly avenged in the sequel by the almost total annihilation of the corps. Frustrated in all his previous attempts, Napoleon now directed a massive column to carry the farm of La Haye Sainte. This position was of the highest importance. If the French could have maintained themselves in it, they would have broken the British line, intercepted the road to Brussels, and cut off the direct communication between the British and Prussian armies. The first movements of the French were successful. After a desperate action, the troops that occupied the farm, were compelled to retire. Profiting by this advantage, Napoleon now directed a great force towards the British centre, against which he likewise precipitated his

cavalry. Some battalions were overthrown; but the remainder, formed into squares, resisted every effort to pierce them, although the French cavalry walked their horses around the squares, in the vain hope of finding an unguarded point. Other squadrons fruitlessly charged the position of the Duke of Wellington. At length the British cavalry, in their turn, charged the French; and Napoleon, perceiving that he had exposed his cavalry too much, brought forward the centre of his infantry, which now advanced to carry the village of Mont St. Jean, in the rear of the British lines.

This was an awful crisis of the battle; the fate of which appeared to vibrate on a hair: but the Duke of Wellington retrieved the fortune of the day. By a sort of ubiquity, he seemed to multiply himself in all the points which were most vulnerable; and, by his judicious disposition, the French were driven from the ground they had acquired, with the exception of a small eminence on the road from Brussels to Charleroi. It was now that the Duke with great difficulty restrained the ardor of his troops, who impatiently desired to be led to the charge. The attack on Hougomont re-commenced; but although no impression on the mouldering ruins of the house could be made, strong bodies of infantry and cavalry made a detour round the chateau, and advanced to the eminence by which it was commanded. The cavalry again reconnoitered the squares with the calmness of the most deliberate courage, and again were they opposed by an adamant barrier of bayonets.

The 30th and 69th regiments and the 1st foot guards here particularly distinguished themselves. The two latter suffered greatly; but, in the end, the perseverance of the troops, and the talents of their illustrious commander, prevailed, and the French were driven back to their original positions with great loss. Still undismayed, the most furious attacks on the British position in every part were made by the French army. The charges effected in the flank of the allies at this juncture was sensibly and mournfully perceived by the diminution of the extent of their squares. The patience of the soldiers was nearly exhausted; although their valour was



unconquerable, their spirits began to droop. Their hero by whom they were commanded, assumed a cheerful tone. In every part of the field, prodigal of his own safety, he animated and encouraged the troops, whilst he concealed his own anxiety with respect to the final issue of the battle. Informed that the fifth division was almost destroyed, and that it could no longer maintain its ground, he said, "I cannot help it, they must keep their ground with myself to the last man. Would to God that night or Blucher was come!" General Delaney, Sir Alexander Gordon, Colonel Ferrier, Lieutenant-Colonel Canning, and Captain Curzon, now closed lives of honourable service by deaths of glory. The disappointment and vexation of Napoleon at the obstinate defence of the British, exceeded all bounds. He observed to the Duke of Dalmatia, "These English are devils. Will they never be beaten? How well they fight: but they must soon give way; do you not think so?" The Duke answered, that "he doubted much whether they would ever give way." "Why?" rejoined Napoleon. "They will suffer themselves to be cut to pieces first," was the answer which closed the conversation. The French attacks now became more frequent and impetuous.

At this moment the Prussians, under Bulow, entered the line. Napoleon perceived at once how critical his situation had become, and detached the Count of Laban with the reserve of the right wing and 100 pieces of cannon to repel them: a service which that officer gallantly and successfully performed. Relieved from the immediate pressure of the Prussians, he (Napoleon) formed the imperial guard, the *elite* of the whole army of France, into a column, led them himself to the edge of a ravine, where he stopped and harangued the troops, who replied to the address by reiterated exclamations of *Vive l'Empereur!* The advance of this redoubtable body, invincible, but by British troops, was like a torrent sweeping before it, for a short time, all opposition. Their point of attack was the centre of the line, into which they penetrated; but their progress was arrested by the guards, who were stationed in ambush in a hollow way. Immediately behind them was the Duke of

Wellington, who exclaimed, "Up guards, and at them." The imperial guards paused, but immediately recovering themselves, advanced with great rapidity. At a signal, their artillery filed off to the right and left, and they were on the point of falling on the British with the bayonet, when they were received by two successive volleys, which threw them into confusion: an irresistible charge decided their fate, and with it the last hopes of Napoleon. Vainly did a regiment of sharpshooters protect their flight by a well-timed, but ineffectual attack upon the guards; vainly were attempts made to rally them; they could not be brought within a charging distance. Napoleon, overwhelmed with rage and despair, would himself have led them on to a second attack, but he was dissuaded from the enterprise.

We now approach the last and decisive scene of this eventful day. The remainder of the Prussian army had at length arrived with Blücher. The French army was outflanked, fatigued, and disheartened by their misfortunes and exertion: they were called to contend with fresh troops, burning to revenge the loss of the battle of Ligny. For some time the combat, become most unequal, was gallantly contested; but the Prussians gained ground. At this moment the Duke of Wellington directed the whole British line, supported by cavalry and infantry, to charge. The shock was tremendous: after a brief opposition, the first French line was broken, the second offered but little resistance; in a moment the French army was plunged into the most frightful confusion. Four squares of the imperial guard, with Napoleon at their head; attempted to cover the retreat, but they were borne away by the torrent. These brave troops, who disdained to surrender, were almost all destroyed. Overwhelmed by the calamity of this irretrievable defeat, Napoleon, finding that he could not rally the fugitives, lost his presence of mind. No point of retreat had been designated: order, subordination, and discipline were no more. The troops who, in the course of the day had shown such heroic bravery, were suddenly transformed into a panic-stricken mob. Artillery, baggage, ammunition, were all abandoned without resistance.

The Prussians undertook the pursuit, which continued for thirty miles: during the whole of that distance, but one attempt was made to repel them. Thus terminated the battle of Waterloo, fought between the two greatest commanders of modern times, to decide the destiny of generations yet unborn. The Duke of Wellington had now attained the summit of glory. The splendor of his other brilliant victories was absorbed in the surpassing brightness of this achievement. The vanquisher of Napoleon, at the head of the finest army he had ever conducted into the field, was raised immeasurably above all competition, and all adequate panegyric. What enhances the glory of this victory, is the fact, that many of the foreign troops who were united with the British army were new levies. We have seen the persevering courage, the noble calmness with which, during upwards of seven hours, the British soldiers supported a defensive conflict, under circumstances which would not merely have appalled, but have annihilated an army composed of any other nation; for it is not too much to affirm, that neither the Russians nor Prussians would have maintained that dreadful day. The numbers of each army were nearly equal; the superiority, however, on the side of the French. The loss of the British army (in which number we include the foreigners) was nearly 20,000; that of the French, upwards of 50,000; but it lost its heart, its confidence in itself and its commander.

Buonaparte (says the historian of the battle of Waterloo\*) was the first to quit the field of battle, and as he ran the fastest, he reached Genappe at about half past nine. The single street of which this village is composed was so encum-

\* "An historical account of the battles of Ligny, Quatre Bras, and WATERLOO, by W. Mudford, Esq." This most interesting and important work ought to find its way into the libraries of those who wielded the sickle of death in that terrible but glorious harvest which it is intended to commemorate. For minute details, therefore, of the three last great battles,—and the merest trifles connected with events, which have conducted to the welfare and pacification of Europe, cannot fail of being regarded with curiosity,—we must refer our readers to Mr. M.'s volume, the style and arrangement of which is every way worthy the stupendous facts of which he has undertaken the record.



bered with baggage, cannon, &c. that an hour elapsed before he could effect his inglorious escape, by passing alongside the houses. Having at length got through, he hurried on towards Quatre Bras, often looking back in terror to see whether the Prussians were at his heels. After he had passed Quatre Bras he recovered his courage, and at Gosselies even ventured to dismount, walking the remainder of the road to Charleroi, which he traversed on horseback between two and three o'clock. He did not stop till he reached a meadow called Marcinelle, at the other end of the town. Here a large fire was made, and the imperial runaway partook of some wine with his officers. At a quarter before five o'clock, having taken another guide, to whom he transferred De Coster's horse, he remounted, made a slight bow, and rode off, continuing his expeditious journey to Paris. De Coster's reward was a single napoleon, given him by General Bertrand; and he was left to find his way back on foot. Buonaparte scarcely spoke a word from the moment he commenced his flight, till he reached the meadow of Marcinelle. Many were the wretched expedients he employed to divest himself of the troublesome attachment of his soldiers, whose fidelity he feared might prove a beacon to guide the enemy in their pursuit. "There is the Emperor! Look at the Emperor!" exclaimed his men, as they saw the hero galloping along: a recognition which never failed to quicken his speed. At the gates of Phillipeville he underwent a humiliating examination by the sentinel, who, though the Emperor disclosed himself, refused to let his Majesty pass, till the governor of the place identified the timorous suppliant. When the scattered wreck of his army knew that he had sought refuge in this fortress, they began to form a sort of encampment round it for his defence. The prudent fugitive, however, who dreaded lest their presence should attract his pursuers, contrived to disperse them by a noble stratagem. He sent out some emissaries, who ran towards the camp, exclaiming "The Cossacks! the Cossacks! save yourselves!" This trick was successful, and Napoleon was enabled to outrun his followers."

On the 19th, the British troops began their march towards Paris, by way of Nivelles. The Duke of Wellington, who was in constant correspondence with Louis XVIII., and who justly conceived that his Majesty's presence would have a beneficial influence, invited him to repair to Cambray, whither he accordingly proceeded with his court and troops on the 26th. From this place, two days after his arrival, he issued a proclamation, in which, while he pronounced pardon to the nation, he declared vengeance to the guilty few by whom it had been betrayed. The allied generals, meanwhile, continued their march towards the French capital. The army of Blucher was one day's march before the British, in consequence of the Duke of Wellington being obliged to halt for his pontoons and stores, besides the delay incident upon the capture of Cambray and Peronne. On the 29th, Blucher was in the front of the lines between St. Denis and Vincennes, (which the enemy had repaired, and occupied with their whole disposable force,) and the Duke of Wellington at Orville.

This was the day on which Buonaparte quitted Paris, never to return. He arrived at the Palais d'Elysée towards the evening of June 20th, accompanied by his brother Jerome, General Drouet, and other officers. Great part of the night was consumed in preparing the bulletin, which announced to the French the extent of their calamities. With 60,000 disciplined troops Napoleon was now to meet the shock of confederated Europe; for at Waterloo he had encountered little more than its advanced guard. It would be absurd to attempt a narration of the altercations and disputes of the two legislative bodies. The majority demanded the abdication of Napoleon, who, unwilling to wait until compulsory measures were proposed, agreed to abdicate the throne of France in favour of his son, (declaring that his own "political life was terminated,") whom he proclaimed under the title of *Napoléon II.* On the 23d a commission of government was appointed, consisting of five individuals, Fouché, Carnot, Caulincourt, Grenier, and Quinette. The next day, a proclamation announced that plenipotentiaries had set off from

Paris to treat with the allies for peace; they also adopted measures to provide for the defence of the capital. After a noisy and quarrelsome debate in the Chamber of Deputies, it was agreed that Napoleon II. should be proclaimed.

Buonaparte remained in Paris as long as was compatible with his personal safety: but Fouché had been deputed to acquaint him that even his presence in the French metropolis was an impediment to any pacific arrangement with the allies. He therefore consented to withdraw; and, after issuing an address to his soldiers, exhorting them to provoke a civil war, he departed June 29th for Rochefort. Fouché immediately communicated the important fact to the Chamber of Peers, observing, "that the commission of government had authorised the minister of marine to arm two frigates for conveying Napoleon to the United States, and that General Becker was entrusted with the safety of his person during his journey."

The French still continued their preparations for the defence of Paris. The allies advanced, and on 1st July the British took up a position, with their right on the height of Rochebourg, and their left upon the Forest of Bondy, while the Prussian army had its third corps near St. Germain, on the left bank of the Seine, and its first on the right. The fourth also arrived during the night in that neighbourhood. Blucher was strongly opposed by the enemy, particularly on the heights of St. Cloud and Meudon; but the gallantry of the Prussian troops enabled them, not only to establish themselves upon the heights of Meudon, but also in the village of Issy. On the 3d July the latter place was attacked by the French, 10,000 strong; but they were, in the event, repulsed. Perceiving that a communication was established by a bridge between the two armies, which the Duke of Wellington had erected at Argenteuil, and that a British corps was moving towards Pont de Neuilly, they sent a flag of truce to desire the firing might cease on both sides of the Seine, with a view to the conclusion of a military convention.

The terms of the treaty were soon agreed upon. On the



7th, Paris was evacuated by the rebel troops; and the next day Louis XVIII. once more entered it.

Buonaparte arrived at Rochefort on 3d July, the day on which Paris capitulated. His avowed intention was to have emigrated to the United States; and to effect this object several schemes were resorted to, all of which, however, the vigilance of the British cruisers rendered abortive. When he heard of the capitulation of the French capital, Napoleon began to be alarmed for his personal safety. He applied to the British squadron for permission to pass, giving a solemn assurance that he intended to retire to the United States. This request was of course refused. His only alternative, therefore, was to surrender, (which he calls throwing himself upon the generosity of the English,) or to remain until he was seized upon by the agents of Louis XVIII. He preferred the former; and, after finding that he could obtain no other terms from Captain Maitland than that he should be conveyed to England, and remain there at the final discretion of the Prince Regent, he addressed his Royal Highness the following laconic epistle:

*“ Rochefort, 13 Juliet, 1815.*

“ ALTESSE ROYALE,

“ En butte aux factions qui divisent mon pays, et à l’ini-  
mitié des plus grandes puissances de l’Europe, j’ai terminé ma  
carrière politique; et je viens, comme Themistocle, m’asseoir  
sur les foyers du peuple Britannique. Je me mis sous la pro-  
tection de ses lois, que je reclame de votre Altesse Royale,  
comme le plus puissant, le plus constant, et le plus genereux  
de mes amis.

“ NAPOLEON.”

Having achieved this celebrated composition, on July 15th, he was received on board the *Bellerophon*, (Captain Maitland,) which immediately set sail, and arrived at Torbay on 24th. The most urgent solicitations were made, to obtain for Buonaparte the privilege of remaining in England. These were, however, ineffective, and it was at length resolved, that

he should be conveyed to St. Helena. Against such a decision it was sufficiently natural for him to remonstrate: he desired to be considered as the guest of England, but this country refused to consider him in any other light than as a prisoner. After mature deliberation with her allies, she undertook to provide him an asylum, where his life at least would be secure. On October 1815, therefore, he was removed from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland*, in which vessel he was immediately conveyed to St. Helena, where he arrived with his small suite on 17th October 1815.

Previously to his removal from the *Bellerophon*, Buonaparte was recommended to select three of his suite to accompany him to St. Helena. Count Bertrand was at that time supposed to be particularly proscribed; but Lord Keith took upon himself the responsibility of including him in the number of the exiled Emperor's attendants: the others were Count Las Casas, and General Count Montholon and Lieutenant-general Gourgaud, his two aides-de-camp, who were especially attached to his person.

Many objections have been started at various times, as to the banishment of the Ex-Emperor to this secure station. The following sensible remarks on this subject, from the *Edinburgh Review*, strike us as being particularly moderate, and in point:

“ We have stated the necessity of dethroning Buonaparte: — the complete security of his person appears to be an unavoidable consequence of the same necessity. As long as he was at large, either in France or elsewhere, he became a rallying point to the disaffected and the discontented. While there was a possibility of his again mounting the throne, the great remains of his party never could be expected to disperse and form new connections. While he continued at large, no man could despair of his fortunes, after the extraordinary events of 1815. That he should remain quiet, was as impossible as that he should prove inoffensive if he moved. His residence must at all times be the focus of intrigue to the enemies of the restored government, both in France and in

foreign states. Then, if his confinement was absolutely necessary, his banishment seemed almost equally essential. A place of custody was required, which should not only be secure, but appear so. Not only must his escape be rendered impossible; but it must strike all mankind as hopeless. Nothing else could wean from him the attachment of his followers; nothing else could turn the minds of the French people towards their new condition, with undivided interest and affection; nothing else could deprive revolutionary faction of its resource and incentive, or ordinary political discontent of the tendency to degenerate into disaffection. While Buonaparte was expected — and he was sure to live in men's hopes, as long as his return was not made physically impossible — no such thing as party, and consequently no free constitution could grow up in France; every opposition must be the faction of the Ex-Emperor, and its tendency must be rebellious. The rest of Europe, as well as France, had the same interest in his effectual confinement; and no country more than our own. To say nothing of the interest which we above all nations have in a peaceable neighbourhood being maintained, the progress of improvement at home was not merely checked, but nearly stopt, by the universal prevalence of alarm, while the greatest of all our dangers continued to menace from abroad. To every proposition of reform, how temperate soever, one answer was ready — ‘The storm still rages without, threatening each moment to level all before it; this is no time for touching the beams in order to repair our house: let the hurricane pass away, and we shall *then* strengthen the building by removing what time has rotted.’ Any attempt to secure Buonaparte's person, which did not manifestly render his liberation impracticable, would have left too much ground for men's fears, to get over this constant objection to all wise measures, and this standing defence of all misgovernment and abuse.

“It seems equally clear, that England was the power most fit to be entrusted with the custody of his person. Our interest in the public peace of Europe was less biassed by



selfish considerations; we were less likely to use our power over him as a means of annoyance to others: our high character for honour and humanity, gave a pledge that no unnecessary harshness would be used, and no ground afforded for the suspicions usually attendant upon the keepers of dethroned monarchs, when they pay the debt of nature before the accustomed time. The place chosen, admitted by all competent judges to be well adapted to the main object of perfect and manifest security, with no other drawbacks upon the comfort of the prisoner than its distance and its confined limits — both of which are essentially necessary for fulfilling the conditions, both being required to render the confinement complete, and to make its completeness apparent. For these reasons, no opposition seems to have been offered in the House of Commons, and hardly any in the Lords, to the bills for enabling the government to detain Buonaparte.”

We subjoin the following code of instructions, drawn up by the British minister, for the guidance of Admiral Sir George Cockburn, to whom the care of Buonaparte was entirely consigned, until the arrival at St. Helena of the new governor, Sir Hudson Lowe.

#### INSTRUCTIONS.

“ When General Buonaparte leaves the *Bellerophon* to go on board the *Northumberland*, it will be the properest moment for Admiral Cockburn to have the effects examined which General Buonaparte may have brought with him.

“ The Admiral will allow all the baggage, wine, and provisions which the General may have brought with him, to be taken on board the *Northumberland*.

“ Among the baggage, his table-service is to be understood as included, unless it be so considerable as to seem rather an article to be converted into ready money than for real use.

“ His money, his diamonds, and his valuable effects, (consequently bills of exchange also,) of whatever kind they may be, must be delivered up. The Admiral will declare to the General, that the British Government by no means intends to confiscate his property, but merely to take upon itself the administration of his effects, to hinder him from using them as a means to promote his flight.

“ The examination shall be made in the presence of a person named by the General : the inventory of the effects to be retained, shall be signed by this person as well as by the Rear-admiral, and by the person whom he shall appoint to draw up the inventory.

“ The interest on the principal, (according as his property is more or less considerable,) shall be applied to his support ; and in this respect the principal arrangements to be left to him.

“ For this reason, he can, from time to time, signify his wishes to the Admiral, till the arrival of the new governor of St. Helena, and afterwards to the latter ; and if no objection lies to be made to his proposal, the Admiral or the Governor can give the necessary orders, and the disbursement will be paid by bills on His Majesty’s treasury.

“ In case of death, he can dispose of his property by a last will, and be assured that the contents of his testament shall be faithfully executed.

“ As an attempt might be made to cause a part of his property to pass for the property of the persons of his suite, it must be signified that the property of his attendants is subject to the same regulations.

“ The disposal of the troops intended to guard him, must be left to the Governor. The latter, however, has received a notice, in the case which will be hereafter mentioned, to act according to the desire of the Admiral.

“ The General must be constantly attended by an officer appointed either by the Admiral or the Governor. If the General is allowed to go out of the bounds where the sentinels are placed, one orderly man at least must accompany the officer. When ships arrive, and as long as they remain in sight, the General must be confined to the limits where the sentinels are placed. During this time all communication with the inhabitants is forbidden. His companions in St. Helena are subject, during this time, to the same rules, and must remain with him. At other times it is left to the judgment of the Admiral or Governor to make the necessary arrangements concerning them.

“ It must be signified to the General, that if he makes any attempts to fly, he will be put under close confinement ; and it must be notified to his attendants, that if it should be found they are plotting to prepare for the General’s flight, they shall be separated from him, and likewise put under close confinement.

“ All letters addressed to the General, or to persons in his suite, must be delivered to the Admiral or Governor, who will read them before he suffers them to be delivered to those to whom they are addressed. Letters written by the General or his suite, are subject to the same rule.

“ No letter that does not come to St. Helena through the Secretary of State must be communicated to the General or his attendants, if it is written by a person not living in the island. All their letters, addressed to persons not living in the island, must go under the cover of the Secretary of State.

“ It will be clearly expressed to the General, that the Governor and Admiral have precise orders to inform His Majesty's Government of all his wishes and representations which he may desire to address to it; in this respect they need not use any precaution: but the paper on which such request or representation is written, must be communicated to them open, that they may both read it, and when they send it, accompany it with such observations as they may judge necessary.

“ Till the arrival of the new Governor, the Admiral must be considered as entirely responsible for the person of General Buonaparte; and His Majesty has no doubt of the inclination of the present Governor to concur with the Admiral for this purpose.

“ The Admiral has full power to retain the General on board his ship, or convey him on board again, when, in his opinion, the secure detention of his person cannot be otherwise effected.

“ When the Admiral arrives at St. Helena, the Governor will, upon his representation, adopt measures for sending immediately to England, the Cape of Good Hope, or the East Indies, such officers or persons in the military corps of St. Helena, as the Admiral, either because they are foreigners, or on account of their character or dispositions, shall think it advisable to dismiss from the military service in St. Helena.

“ If there are strangers in the island, whose residence in the country shall seem to be with a view of becoming instrumental in the flight of General Buonaparte, he must take measures to remove them.

“ The whole coast of the island, and all ships and boats that visit it, are placed under the *surveillance* of the Admiral. He fixes the places which the boats may visit: and the Governor will send a sufficient guard to the points where the Admiral may consider this precaution to be necessary.

“ The Admiral will adopt the most vigorous measures to watch over the arrival and departure of every ship, and to prevent all communication with the coast, except such as he shall allow.

“ Orders will be issued to prevent, after a certain necessary interval, any foreign mercantile vessel from going in future to St. Helena.

“ If the General should be seized with a serious illness, the Admiral and Governor will each name a physician, who enjoys their confidence, in order to attend the General, in common with



his own physician: they will give them strict orders to give in every day a report of the state of his health.

“ In case of his death, the Admiral will give orders to convey his body to England.

“ *Given at the War Office, July 30th, 1815.*”

On the 12th of April Lieutenant-general Sir Hudson Lowe was appointed governor of the island of St. Helena, to whom the custody of Buonaparte's person was consigned, under similar regulations to those quoted above. It is not our object to enter into the petty disputes which have occupied the columns of the daily newspapers as to the propriety of Buonaparte's treatment. The governor of the island was under heavy penalties, including the compromisement of his character, as well as the forfeiture of his situation, not to allow of the escape of his prisoner. The conduct of Buonaparte on a former occasion afforded ample excuse for all those restrictions which in any, even the remotest, degree referred to the security of his person. Sir Hudson Lowe was furnished with unequivocal orders from this government, from which it was not at his option to deviate without exhibiting a dereliction of his duty in the important responsibility which had been vested in him. In attending to these instructions, he could not fail of becoming obnoxious to Napoleon and his adherents: he could not have fulfilled his engagements to his country had it been otherwise. The main grievance would seem to have been, that the Ex-Emperor was so securely watched as to preclude altogether the possibility of his effecting his escape. The frequent and petulant remonstrances of Buonaparte and his dependants to the governor, against the restrictions which had been imposed, absolutely, by the British Government, upon him and suite, might probably have indisposed the former to shew him any indulgence inconsistent with the letter of the instructions under which he acted.

In 1817, a memorial was addressed by Buonaparte, through the Count de Montholon, to Sir Hudson Lowe, which excited much attention and sympathy, until Lord Holland brought it into the House of Lords; where it received a

complete refutation from Earl Bathurst, a portion of whose speech on the subject we here subjoin, as it contains, not only the complaints of Buonaparte, but his Lordship's reply to them.

On Tuesday, March 18. 1817, upon a motion made by Lord Holland for the production of papers relative to the treatment of Napoleon Buonaparte in the Island of St. Helena.

"The noble mover had laid the foundation of his motion, partly on a paper written by order of Napoleon, and signed Count Montholon, and partly on rumours which had reached him from other quarters. It was not his (Earl B.'s) intention to reply to these rumours, any more than to a paper signed by a man named Santini, to which no credit whatever was due. It was creditable to the noble Lord, that he had not made that paper the foundation of his remarks; for no one, looking at it for a moment, could fail to perceive that it was full of the grossest misrepresentations. He (Earl B.) should therefore look upon that publication as disavowed, and thus totally unworthy of attention, and should confine his remarks to that paper which certainly was authentic, and which was signed by the Count de Montholon. He should first show to their Lordships what the instructions to Sir Hudson Lowe were, and he should then show that all the complaints contained in that paper, written by order of Napoleon Buonaparte, either arose out of the due execution of those instructions, or were misrepresentations of facts, or were direct and absolute falsehoods. In the first place, as to the instructions to Sir Hudson Lowe, their Lordships had been long in possession of these instructions; for when Admiral Cockburn went out to St. Helena, instructions were given him, which would apply to him while he remained there, and which would also apply to his successor after his departure. These instructions had been published on the continent, whence they had found their way to the papers in this country. That authentic copy had been long before their Lordships, and it was the general opinion they contained nothing improper, considering the end for which they were drawn up. Those instructions considered Napoleon as a prisoner of war, and consequently laid down this general rule, that all restrictions should be imposed which were necessary to his secure detention, but that no restrictions should be imposed which were not necessary to that detention. This principle, he was prepared to show, had actuated all the instructions from his Majesty's Government, and all the steps which Sir Hudson Lowe had taken in pursuance of those instructions. Up to this moment he was prepared also to

state there had been no substantive alteration of those instructions. All the communications from the Government to St. Helena had been rather in the way of explanation than instructions, and whatever change had taken place, either in the explanation of the instructions, or the execution of them, were to the benefit of the person who was the subject of it. He should classify the complaints made respecting the treatment of the individual, and should then read what parts of the instruction applied to the several heads of those complaints. The complaints which had been made, might be reduced under two heads. 1st. Restrictions as to the communication of the prisoner with others, either in writing or personally; and, 2d. Those complaints which apply to the personal treatment of the individual himself. In the first place, as to the communications with others by writing, the noble mover had stated that there was an utter impossibility of his communicating with his wife and child, or relations. Now he (Earl B.) should read the part of the instructions which referred to all communications in writing with the individual in question. The instructions were these:

“ ‘ All letters addressed to the General, or to persons in his suite, must be delivered to the Admiral or the Governor, (as the case may be,) who will read them before they are delivered to those to whom they are addressed.

“ ‘ Letters written by the General, or his suite, are subject to the same rule.

“ ‘ No letter that comes to St. Helena, except through the Secretary of State, must be communicated to the General or his attendants, if it be written by a person not residing on the island; and letters addressed to persons not living on the island, must go under cover to the Secretary of State.

“ ‘ It will be clearly expressed to the General, that the Governor and Admiral are strictly commanded to inform his Majesty's Government of all the wishes and representations which the General may desire to address to it. In this respect they need not use any precaution; but the paper in which such request or representation is written, must be communicated to them open, that they may read it, and accompany it with such observations as they may think necessary.’

“ Thus, then, when Napoleon Buonaparte represented that it was impossible for him to write to those to whom he wished to write, it was not true. If he meant to say that he could not write without those letters being opened, that was merely in conformity to the instructions which had been delivered to the Governor. But he had no right to represent that as an absolute prohibition,



which was only optional. The next complaint was, that he had not received letters from his relations and friends in Europe, and that it was impossible for him to receive them. This was not true; it was not impossible for any of his relations and friends to communicate with him, if they chose to send their letters to the Secretary of State, where they would be opened, and afterwards undoubtedly would be forwarded to him. But there was one preliminary to his receiving letters from his friends, which was, that his friends should write to him; and the fact was, that only one of his relations had written to him, namely, his brother Joseph, whose letter reached the office in October last, where it was opened, and immediately forwarded to him. Another complaint of the same nature was, that he was not permitted to send a sealed letter to the Prince Regent. Of course, Sir Hudson Lowe, if any application had been made to him, would have obeyed the instructions which had been read to their Lordships; but, in point of fact, no application had been made to Sir Hudson Lowe on that subject. An application had indeed been made to Sir Geo. Cockburn, (he believed from Count Bertrand,) to know whether, if a letter were written by the Emperor to the Prince Regent, he would undertake to deliver it without suffering it to be opened by any person. Sir G. Cockburn, of course, could give no such assurance; but all that he could do was to communicate the substance of his instructions respecting letters written by General Buonaparte, and then leave him to his judgment how he might act. Since that time no further application of that nature had been received. In directing that any complaint against the conduct of the Governor towards General Buonaparte, sent to the Government in this country, should be left open, there was not any discretion remaining with the Governor, whether he would or would not transmit them; but, at the same time, he was allowed to enter into an explanation of the allegations contained in the letter. The object of this regulation was, on the one hand, to protect the Governor against frivolous charges, and, on the other hand, if any grave charge could be adduced, to insure relief sooner than would otherwise be possible, because it would not be necessary to send back to St. Helena to inquire into the truth of it, before steps could be taken to remove the inconvenience complained of. It was in that sense that this part of the instructions had been taken by General Buonaparte, as might be inferred from a letter of Sir G. Cockburn to him, of which he should read a passage. The passage ran to this effect:

‘I have no hesitation in agreeing with you, that the spirit which influenced his Majesty’s Government in this part of their

instructions, was the desire of speedily remedying any inconvenience you might have to complain of; but, though the spirit is favourable to you, they do not lose sight of the circumstance, that it is due in justice to me and my successors, to prevent any complaint against us from being known in Europe for six months without being accompanied by any observation from us.'

"Now, it was clear, that as the Governor was bound to send every charge against him to Europe, that General Buonaparte had no reason whatever to complain. As to the sealed letters to the Prince Regent, he could only say, that if Sir G. Cockburn or Sir Hudson Lowe had thought fit to allow any such letters to come to Europe, sealed up, he (Earl B.) should have felt it to be his duty to open them. He agreed with the noble mover, that if he had prevented any such letters from reaching his Royal Highness, he should have been guilty of a base and unwarrantable breach of duty; but, at the same time, in this country, where the ministers were responsible for the acts of the Sovereign, he did not know how he could discharge his duty, if he did not make himself acquainted with the nature of such communications. The next complaint of General Buonaparte was, that when he had requested to have some books from Europe, those which referred to modern times had been kept back. The fact was this: soon after his arrival at St. Helena, he expressed a wish for some books to complete his library, and a list was made out by General Buonaparte himself, and transmitted to this country. This list was sent to an eminent French bookseller in this town, with orders to supply such of the books as he had, and to obtain the rest from other booksellers. As several of the books were not to be obtained in London, the bookseller was desired to write to Paris for them. He accordingly obtained some of them from Paris, but others of them could not be obtained; those which could not be procured, were principally on military subjects. These books, to the amount of 13 or 1400*l.* worth, (which the memorial called a few books,) were sent, with an explanation of the circumstances which prevented the others from having been sent. This anxiety to attend to the wishes of the individual in question was not at all taken, in the paper he had referred to, as an excuse for the omission. A complaint connected with this was, that newspapers had been withheld. As to this he should say, that if the noble mover thought that General Buonaparte should be furnished with all the journals he required, he (Earl B.) had a different sense of the course which it was proper for him to pursue. And this opinion was grounded on the knowledge that attempts had been made, through the medium of newspapers, to hold communications with

Napoleon. The next complaint was, that he was not allowed to open a correspondence with a bookseller. Now, this was not true, unless it meant that that correspondence could not be carried on under sealed letters; for there was no reason for preventing that correspondence, unless it was carried on in that particular manner. It was also said that he could not correspond even with his banker or agent. Now it was, in point of fact, open to him to enter upon any such correspondence under the restrictions he had mentioned: and there was no reason why a letter to a banker should be sent sealed up. He (Earl B.) did not deny, that in a correspondence between friends, the necessity of sending letters open was a most severe restriction, because it was impossible to consign to paper the warm effusions of the heart, under the consciousness that it would be subject to the cold eye of an inspector. But this did not apply to a correspondence with a banker. Who had ever heard of an affectionate draught on a banking-house, or an enthusiastic order for the sale of stock? He now came to the most important point of charge, which was, that the letter sent by General Buonaparte, or persons of his suite, were read by subaltern officers. This was not true: Sir Hudson Lowe had exercised the trust reposed in him with the utmost delicacy; and when any letters were transmitted through his hands, had never permitted any individual, however confidential, to see them, whether they were addressed to individuals at home or at St. Helena. It was difficult to know on what general charges were founded; but the following occurrence was the only one which he could conceive to have any reference to it: when Napoleon and his suite were first sent out to St. Helena, from the haste in which the ships sailed, they were left in want of many necessaries, such as linen and other articles of that kind. It was judged that great inconvenience might be felt, if they were obliged to wait till they could send to this country for them; and, accordingly, a considerable quantity of such articles were sent out in anticipation of their wants. It so happened, that about the time when these articles arrived, Las Casas wrote a letter to Europe, which of course came under the inspection of Sir Hudson Lowe, who found that it contained an order for some of those very articles which had been sent out. Sir Hudson Lowe then wrote to Las Casas, to inform him that he had those articles which he had ordered, and which were much at his service, and observed, that it would not perhaps be necessary to send the letter, or that he might now omit that order. Las Casas returned an answer full of reproaches to Sir Hudson Lowe for his presumption, in reading a letter directed to a lady, and for offering him articles out of a common stock, when he knew that he had been solely



supported by the Emperor. Thus was Sir Hudson Lowe treated, — and such was the only foundation for this part of the charge. — The next complaint was in these words : —

“ ‘ Letters have arrived at St. Helena for officers in the suite of the Emperor ; they were broken open and transmitted to you, but you have not communicated them, because they did not come through the channel of the English ministry. They had thus to go back 4000 leagues, and these officers had the grief of knowing that there was intelligence on the rock from their wives, their mothers, their children, and that they could not know the nature of it for six months. The heart revolts at this.’ ”

“ Now this was a direct falsehood, for which there was not the smallest foundation. Sir Hudson Lowe, on seeing this passage in the memorial, wrote to Montholon, saying there was no foundation for this charge, and calling on him to give instances. No instances had been given, no answer had been returned ; and the reason was this, that the assertion was absolutely false. Indeed, in the voluminous papers which had been transmitted from St. Helena, nothing was more painfully disgusting than the utter indifference to truth shown throughout. Having said thus much as to the restriction on communication by letter with General Buonaparte, he should proceed to the complaints of restraints on his personal intercourse with others. He should read the part of the instructions which referred to this subject, and which had been a year and a half before the country, and to which no objection had ever been made. The words were these : —

“ ‘ When ships arrive, and as long as they are in sight, the General must remain confined within the boundary where sentinels are placed. During this interval, all intercourse with the inhabitants is forbidden.’ Such was the letter of the instruction ; but the execution of it had been very liberal : persons who arrived at the island were, on procuring a pass from the Governor or Admiral, permitted to go up to Longwood ; but to prevent the privacy of the General from being broken in upon by the curiosity of individuals, they were prevented from going to Longwood, unless they obtained the previous consent of Count Bertrand, or some of the individuals near his person. The complaint that all intercourse with the inhabitants was prevented was untrue. It was true that the inhabitants could not approach him without a pass, but there was no instance in which a pass had been refused, or that any had been prevented from going to him ; but those who had been detected in attempting to approach him in disguise, or in false characters. It had been also said, that he had been prevented from having any intercourse with the officers of the garrison.

There was no foundation for this. He had on one occasion entered into conversation with an officer of the 53d regiment, in which he bestowed high praises upon that regiment and its officers, (none of which could be too high for their deserts,) and then expressed a regret that all intercourse with them was interdicted him. The officer assured him that no such interdiction existed, at which he expressed some surprise, but since that time he had not more frequent communication with them than he had previously, when he supposed the prohibition which he so much lamented to have existed.

“ He had thus answered complaints of restrictions on the communication of Buonaparte with individuals, either by letter or personally ; and he should next advert to the charges respecting his personal treatment. The instructions on this subject were these: ‘ The General must always be attended by an officer appointed by the Admiral or the Governor, as the case may be. If the General is allowed to go beyond the boundary where the sentinels are placed, he must be accompanied by one orderly-man at least.’ Now the practice had been, that during the first period of his confinement, he had a circumference of no less than twelve miles, in which he might ride or walk without the attendance of any officers, and that range was not reduced till it had been found that he had abused the confidence reposed in him by tampering with the inhabitants. That range was now reduced to eight miles instead of twelve, and within that boundary he might at present walk without the attendance of any officer. Beyond those limits he might go over any part of the island, attended by an officer of rank, not lower than a captain in the army. On this ground, therefore, it could not be objected that there was an unreasonable degree of restraint. The next complaint which the noble mover had urged was, that General Buonaparte could not move out of his house at the only time when exercise was healthy in that climate. Now, the fact was, that though he had not free passage through the island after sun-set, he might at any hours walk in his garden. Sentinels were stationed there after sun-set, and he had expressed his dislike to walk where he was thus watched. Sir Hudson Lowe, with every desire to attend to his wishes, after that fixed the sentinels in places where they would not look on him. Would their Lordships wish these sentinels to be removed altogether, just at the time when it was most likely that he should escape? Let them suppose for a moment, that instead of debating on the motion of the noble Lord, that intelligence was brought them by Sir Hudson Lowe that General Buonaparte had actually escaped. Let them suppose, that instead of sitting to

discuss whether a little more or little less restriction should be imposed, that they had thus to examine Sir Hudson Lowe at their bar: How and when did he escape? — In the early part of the evening, and from his garden. Had his garden no sentinels? — The sentinels were removed. Why were they removed? — General Buonaparte desired it; they were hurtful to his feelings; they were then removed, and thus was he enabled to escape. What would their Lordships think of such an answer? He begged them to consider the situation of Sir Hudson Lowe — in what a painful and invidious station he was placed. If General Buonaparte escaped, the character and fortune of Sir Hudson Lowe were ruined for ever: and if no attempts were made to effect that escape, there would not be wanting some, from false motives of compassion, to reproach him for those restrictions which had probably prevented those attempts from being made. It was now said in the memorial, that the residence pitched upon for General Buonaparte was unpleasant and unwholesome: he could only say, that this was not the general account of that place. It had formerly been the house of the Lieutenant-Governor, and it was not the custom for lieutenant-governors to choose the most unpleasant and unwholesome spots: neither had this been the former opinion of General Buonaparte himself. When the General had first been sent there, it was left to the discretion of Sir G. Cockburn to fix on a residence for him, with only one exception, namely, the house of the Governor. That choice was to be directed by a view to the safe custody, and, as far as was consistent with that, by the consideration due to his comfort. Soon after his landing, General Buonaparte rode out with Sir George Cockburn, till he reached Longwood, with which, at first sight, he was so much captivated, that he wished to remain there, and not to go back to the town. He was told that it would be impossible so soon to remove the Lieutenant-Governor's family. He then wished a tent to be erected, which it was also represented would much incommode the Lieutenant-Governor; but he was assured that the occupants should be removed as soon as possible. As they returned, they came to a house prettily situated, which belonged to Mr. Balcombe, near which a detached room had been built. General Buonaparte expressed a wish to occupy that room, and after Sir G. Cockburn had in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from it, he took up his abode there for the time. It was but two days after, however, that his attendants complained of this harsh usage, as they termed it, in placing the Emperor in a single room. This was the manner in which the compliance of Sir G. Cockburn was received. So many alterations were made



at Longwood, that General Buonaparte remained in that room three months. Constant improvements or alterations were made at Longwood, on account of himself or his suite, which delayed his removal; for the fact was, that he was unwilling to remove from Mr. Balcombe's, on account of the facility of communication with the town. During his residence there, he was circumscribed to a small garden, beyond which he never moved without a guard. He did not, however, at that time, make any complaint; but he now, for the first time, complained of restrictions on his liberty, when he was allowed to range within a circuit of eight miles, if he pleased, unattended. When the prisoners were first sent to St. Helena, orders were given to send out a frame for the purpose of constructing a house for General Buonaparte. When the materials arrived, Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to the General, whether he would like to have a new house erected, or additions made to the old one. He received no answer; but in two or three weeks he went to the General to endeavour to obtain a decision from him. The General answered that he should prefer a new house, but that it would take five or six years to build, while he knew that in two or three years, either the administration in this country would be overturned, or a change would take place in the government of France; and in either case he should be released. As this was all the answer Sir Hudson Lowe could get, he proceeded to make alterations in the present house. General Buonaparte then objected to this, though it was done for the purpose of lodging his attendants. He (Earl B.) did not object to General Buonaparte's choice either of the new house or the old one, or between alterations and no alterations; but he objected to this — that he made every attempt to make his residence convenient for the foundation of a charge against the Governor, and that he watched the moment when an attention was paid to his wishes, to make that attention a source of complaint. He should now advert to the subject of the expense bestowed on the maintenance of that individual; but he should previously mention the rumour, that St. Helena had been mentioned at the Congress of Vienna, as a place to which Buonaparte might be removed from Elba. It was one of those rumours, whether received from foreigners or Englishmen, in which he could assure the noble Lord he was quite mistaken. There was no mention at the Congress of such a proposition. As to the expence of the establishment of General Buonaparte at St. Helena, it had been at first, from the want of arrangements for regular supplies, unavoidably great; but it had always been in contemplation, when those arrangements were made, that the expenditure should be considerably

reduced. The permanent expence of the establishment of Buonaparte had from the first been fixed at 8000*l.* a-year, though it was of course contemplated that the first year would much exceed that expence. In fixing that allowance, the Government had been somewhat guided by the expenses which the Governor of the island had been found to have incurred. That Governor was paid by the India Company: his salary was 1800*l.* a-year, and his table expences were paid, as he was bound to receive and entertain all the passengers in the company's ships touching at the island. Those table expences had been found, on an average of years, to be 4700*l.* a year, in all 6500*l.*, which was regarded as a fair criterion of the expence of supporting an establishment on that island. As General Buonaparte was not subject to those expences which the Governor had been obliged to incur, 8000*l.* a year was deemed a fair allowance: that estimate, it was to be remembered, had been given in to the other house of parliament, as the probable expence of that establishment; and the instructions of Sir H. Lowe on this subject were founded on it. This sum was considered sufficient to provide General Buonaparte with all that could be considered as suitable for a person in his situation. Instructions were, however, transmitted to the Governor, informing him, if it required more for the support of General Buonaparte than what had been considered sufficient for that purpose, if he thought any additional luxury necessary beyond what could be provided for the sum fixed in this country, His Majesty's Ministers were inclined to allow it. Sir Hudson Lowe, in answer, said, he thought the establishment of General Buonaparte could not be suitably provided for under 12,000*l.* a-year. An intimation was immediately given that the sum of 12,000*l.* was agreed to by His Majesty's Ministers. If their Lordships considered this too small a sum for the expences of General Buonaparte, he only wished them to recollect that Sir Hudson Lowe himself was only allowed 12,000*l.* for all his expences, of whatever nature they might be. A fortnight after the receipt of the letter from this country, General Buonaparte entered into a negociation with Sir Hudson Lowe, in which he undertook to furnish the whole of his expenditure, amounting to 17 or 18,000*l.* himself, if he had permission to correspond with any banker, provided the letters were allowed to be sealed, and provided all the money so received should be wholly at his disposal; and so confident was he that he had this money at his command, that he offered at once to draw for it; and he assured Sir Hudson Lowe that he might advance the money with safety, because he had no doubt that his draft would be accepted. In stating this,

he did not mean to say, that because General Buonaparte possessed funds, and even large funds, that, therefore, the Government of this country ought to make him pay for the expences of his establishment out of these funds; but he said this, that having given him so high an allowance as 12,000*l.* a-year, such an allowance as they gave to their own Governor, who was exposed to great expences, and who had to receive the visits of the inhabitants, and of the commissioners of the allied powers; surely, if this sum was sufficient for the Governor, it was sufficient for General Buonaparte; and, if he wished for more than this, it ought to come out of the funds, and large funds, at his own disposal. There was one other point which he should notice, as it related to a statement in a publication formerly mentioned by him; — that one bottle of wine a day only was allowed for each person, and that if this allowance was drank by any of the individuals on the establishment, he could get no more. In order to ascertain the expenditure of any establishment, it was usual to calculate on a certain quantity of such things as were used for each individual per day. It was by no means intended, that the same quantity should always be drunk by such individual. With respect to the calculation of one bottle per day, for each person, it was one which would be considered in this country as not an unfair one: this was the allowance for His Majesty's table. A bottle a day for each person was considered by military gentlemen as sufficient for the supply of their messes; sufficient for themselves, and for such company as might be invited to their mess: it was not usual to allow more one day with another, to any person in the prime of life. But to show how liberally the allowance to General Buonaparte was calculated, he should read to their Lordships an extract from the estimate for his table, in which this very article of wine was minutely specified. There was an allowance of strong and weak wine. The quantity of weak wine was 84 bottles in the course of the fortnight; but he should put that out of the question, and merely state the quantity of the other description of wine. Of that better sort of wine, there was no less than 266 bottles in one fortnight, applicable wholly and entirely to General Buonaparte and his attendants. The particulars were — 7 bottles of Constantia, (or 14 pint bottles); 14 bottles of Champaign; 21 bottles of Vin de Grave; 84 bottles of Teneriffe; 140 bottles of Claret: in all, 266 bottles.

“ The number of persons connected with General Buonaparte, excluding those of tender age, amounted to nine: so that there was an allowance of nineteen bottles in one day, for ten persons; and taking one day with another, the allowance might be con-



sidered two bottles a-day for each grown person. In addition to this quantity of wine, forty-two bottles of porter were allowed every fortnight, being at the rate of three to each individual. Having stated so much, he trusted he had convinced their Lordships, that there was not any ground whatever for apprehending that they were acting towards General Buonaparte with any thing like severity. Those persons who were placed under his controul had behaved in the most insolent manner towards the Governor; and if their Lordships were willing to lend an ear to every complaint proceeding from them, there would be no end to their complaining. With respect to the Governor, he could not support his authority unless he endeavoured to enforce obedience to all the dispositions which he was by his instructions appointed to make. If they thought that Buonaparte ought not to be detained at St. Helena, then dismiss him; but if they thought that he ought to be detained, it would be unjust to throw such a heavy responsibility on the Governor, and at the same time prevent him from enforcing such measures as the secure detention of his prisoner demanded from him."

Of the last two years of Buonaparte's eventful life we have nothing to record. It has been repeatedly asserted in the daily prints, that he was occupied in preparing memoirs of his own extraordinary life. Indeed, several assumed productions of his pen have been published in this country; all of which, without an exception, have been publicly denounced as spurious by the Count de Montholon. Of the conversations purporting to have been held with the Ex-Emperor, and the justifications entered into by him, as to particular points of his moral and political conduct, which have been at various times given to the public, the greater part are, we have reason to believe, equally unauthentic.

It only remains for us now to mention the death of this wonderful man, which took place at St. Helena, May 6th 1821, after an illness of about six weeks' duration.

The cause of his death is said to have been a cancer in the stomach: a disease which had been fatal to his father. Previous to his decease, Buonaparte expressed a desire that his body should be opened, in order that the real nature of his complaint might be discovered. This was done, and the stomach was found to be the entire seat of the disease, where

a cancer of considerable magnitude had formed itself. In the last stages of his illness Buonaparte must, it is represented, have suffered excruciating pain. It was remarked before his death, that for more than nine days he had refused all nourishment, which was supposed to have proceeded from resignation or obstinacy; but the diseased state of his stomach fully accounted for it.

The body was laid out on a bed, in a room of middling size, hung with black, and well lighted up. He was dressed in full field-marshal's uniform; that said to have been worn by him at the battle of Marengo. His person seemed small, and rather diminutive (exact height five feet seven inches); but the fineness of the countenance much exceeded expectation. The face appeared to be large, compared with the body; the features pleasing, and extremely regular, still retaining a half-formed smile; and must have been truly imposing, when enlivened by a penetrating pair of eyes. His skin was perfectly sallow, which seemed to be its natural colour.

The garden was laid out in the most fanciful manner; an astonishing variety being contained in a very small space.

Buonaparte died on Saturday, and the funeral took place the following Wednesday, at 12 o'clock. A grand procession was formed of the officers, soldiers, and marines; which, altogether, made a very striking exhibition. The troops were drawn up two men deep on the road side, out of Longwood gates; each man resting the point of his musket on his foot, with the left hand on its butt; and the left cheek leaning on his hand in a mournful position; the band stationed at the head of each corps playing a dead march.

He was buried at the head of Rupert's Valley, about half way between James' Town and Longwood, under the shade of a large willow tree, near a small spring well, the water in which is both good and pleasant. For some years past he had water carried to him daily from this well, in two silver tankards which he brought from Moscow. Some years since, when visiting this well, in company with Madame Bertrand, he said, if the British Government buried him on St. Helena, he

wished this to be the spot. It is certainly a very retired, pretty situation, surrounded by high hills in the form of an amphitheatre, the public road to Longwood leading along the top of the ridge.

After letting the coffin into the grave, three vollies from 11 field pieces were fired, and the flag-ship also fired 25 minute guns. The Catholic priest performed the ceremony after the rites of the Romish Church.

The grave was 10 feet long, 10 deep, and five wide: the bottom happened to be solid rock, in which a space was cut to receive the coffin; the sides and ends of the grave were each walled in with one large Portland flag, and three large flags were put immediately over the coffin, and fastened down with iron bars and lead, beside Roman cement. The top of the grave is elevated about eight inches above the surface of the ground, and covered over with three rough slates.

The number and importance of the historical facts which we have necessarily had occasion to detail in this memoir, have entirely precluded the possibility of introducing personal anecdotes of Napoleon. The following account of his last moments is derived from a work recently published at Paris, entitled, "Captivity of Buonaparte at St. Helena."

"Buonaparte for some time considered himself attacked by an internal disease which would speedily prove fatal to him. He often mentioned it, accompanied with sombrous presentiments; but it was supposed to be nothing more than the wanderings of an active imagination left unemployed. Some weeks before his death, he laboured with a spade in his garden so long and so severely as almost to faint from fatigue. Somebody suggested to him the probable injury to his health: 'No,' said he, 'it cannot hurt my health — that is lost beyond all hope. It will but shorten my days.' I suspect he gave but little time to the composition of memoirs of his life. Bertrand one day urged him to labour with more assiduity. 'It is beneath me,' said he, 'to be the historian of my own life. Alexander had his *Quintus Curtius*, and I shall have mine. At all events, my life is recorded in my achievements.'



A short time before his malady became serious, he abandoned his reserve, and became familiar with every body. He set a high value upon Bertrand, but did not like him. He said to him one day at table, ‘Bertrand, it was not your attachment to me, but your love of glory that brought you to St. Helena: you would immortalize your name as my *fidus Achates*,’ (the faithful companion of the hero of Æneid.) A little girl, only nine years old, the daughter of a serjeant of the garrison, often kept him company. He took great pleasure in speaking to her, and, on her coming, always kissed her on the cheek. He constantly provided himself with fruits or sweetmeats for her, and shortly before his death, hung round her neck a small gold watch by a gold chain. ‘Julie,’ said he, ‘wear this for my sake.’ With a penknife he graved on the cover, clumsily enough it is true, these words, ‘*The Emperor to his little friend Julie.*’ He sometimes amused himself in giving this child a lesson in drawing from the surrounding mountain scenery, with the most laughably whimsical figures and objects interspersed. His predilection for this child was extraordinary; she had nothing interesting in her person, and was in capacity rather below the average of little girls of her age. The 2d of April was the day on which he was observed to be seriously indisposed. He rose early and walked in the garden. He, after a few minutes, sat upon a bank, apparently faint. Montholon went up to him, and asked him if he was taken ill. ‘Yes,’ said he, ‘I feel nausea and sick stomach, — the *avant couriers* of death.’ Count Montholon smiled. Buonaparte took his arm, and said, ‘My friend, we must not laugh at death when he is so near us.’ The little Julie soon appeared with a basket, and caught his attention. He brought her into the saloon, where breakfast was prepared, and filled her basket with different sweet things, adding a bottle of liqueur, with these words, ‘This is for your father to drink my health.’ One day he sent for a jeweller to alter or repair some trinkets, and asked him if he could make a silver coffin. The jeweller tried to shift the question. Buonaparte repeated it. ‘I shall die,’ said he, ‘in a few weeks.’ ‘God forbid

that we should lose your Highness,' said the other. 'God grant that I may die soon — very soon,' returned Buonaparte; "I am well convinced that life is not a blessing, but a curse.' He then approached a piano, touched the keys for a few moments, producing some vague, but not inharmonious movement, and ended with playing his favourite air —

O Richard! O mon Roi!

L'univers t'abandonne.

He often stretched himself on a sofa, opposite the garden window, and read with a loud voice from *Telemachus*, or the *Henriade*. He inquired one day, with great eagerness, whether an English journal could be procured him. With some difficulty a newspaper was provided. He took it, and glanced over it hastily, and suddenly exclaimed, 'Ah! Naples! Naples! poor devils! Murat was the bravest king they ever had; — but he did not know his subjects. They are all *lazzaroni* from the duke of ——— down to the lowest beggar!' The morning of the day on which he died, he said, 'Death has nothing to affright me. For three weeks death has been the companion of my pillow. Now he is about to embrace me and bear me away for ever.'

"The vicissitudes of his destiny, and his death on a distant rock, are fearful lessons to the possessors of human power, and the wearers of crowns. He who governed empires died a captive under the dominion of strangers. He who had the monarchy of Europe at his feet, had his requiem chanted only by the genius of the ocean-storm, and the cannon sounded his funeral knell!"

The character of Napoleon Buonaparte resembles, as a finished portrait, nothing in ancient or modern history: scattered traits of resemblance may indeed be found, but as a whole, it is unique. His genius was of the highest order. Formed to command, his individual pre-eminence raised him above the splendor of a throne. Great as a general, the quickness of his perception, the energy of his decision, and the general accuracy of his conclusions, could only be matched by

the exquisite judgment of the Duke of Wellington. The conception of the boldest and most astonishing military enterprises, was in him united with inexhaustible resources for executing them; excepting only in his expedition to Russia, when his higher qualities were obscured by the intoxication of prosperity. In this view of the subject, however, his memory will be always indelibly stained by his habitual prodigality of blood. The Duke of Wellington, on the contrary, was always sparing of his troops. Yet Napoleon was adored by his soldiers; to them, at least, he was generally a munificent patron, an indulgent master, and a gracious monarch. As a statesman, he was more distinguished for his adroitness and cunning, and for his dexterity in devising temporary expedients, than for enlarged and comprehensive views. Accustomed to regard his fellow-creatures with contempt, as beings inferior to himself, and swayed only by base and sordid motives, he addressed himself chiefly to their vices. Hence, the general spirit of his negotiations was hollow and insincere: hence the flagrant atrocity of his enterprise against Spain: hence, that universal distrust which armed against him, not only sovereigns, but the whole population of Europe. In his capacity as Emperor, the ruling principle of his government was the concentration of every species of power in his own person. The system of administration which he framed, was so artfully constructed, that from the first minister of state to the humblest functionary of a parish, ecclesiastical or civil, all depended entirely and absolutely upon him. Although this system was well contrived for his own personal security, it involved and perplexed him in an useless variety of details. The gratification of his own boundless ambition in the attainment of universal sway, unrestrained by any scruples of conscience, was the chief object of his desires: but he had also another, and a nobler ambition, that of being distinguished in after ages as the author of useful institutions, and magnificent public works. France and Italy will long regard this branch of his domestic policy with reverence and gratitude.

The circumstances of his situation, raised first to the magis-



tracy of the Republic, and afterwards to the throne of the empire, without any hereditary claims, in the former instance, by force alone, naturally rendered him suspicious; and innumerable spies poisoned the sweets of familiar intercourse amongst his people. Many persons were immured in state prisons upon suspicion, without being brought to trial; and, it is said, that torture was applied in those abodes of misery. Still the general character of his *civil* government was not cruel, at least, not sanguinary. He possessed a wonderful penetration in discovering, and general impartiality in patronizing talent, wherever it was to be found; and few instances of favouritism are recorded in his selection of agents.

As a man, Napoleon Buonaparte was gloomy, sullen, and vindictive; subject to violent bursts of passion, which frequently betrayed him into acts of outrage and oppression. He was, however, a staunch friend, of which the devoted attachment of Count Bertrand, and other of his followers, is a decided proof; but the bane of his character was its perfect isolation. He appeared to live almost entirely for himself. In short, in his character there is somewhat to be commended, much to be admired, more to be condemned, and all to be wondered at.

“ He left the name at which the world grêw pale,  
To point a moral, or adorn a tale.”

## No. II.

## HER LATE MAJESTY QUEEN CAROLINE.

IN presenting to the public a memoir of the late Queen, we have endeavoured as much as possible to avoid the intrusion of any opinions of our own as to the proceedings which have of late occupied so large a share of public attention, and out of which so much bitter political hostility would seem to have arisen. Should it, however, be argued, agreeably with a well-known proverb, that “those who are not for are against,” and that consequently our silence may sometimes appear to imply disapprobation, we must be content to rest under the full force of such an imputation.

Caroline-Amelia-Elizabeth, afterwards Queen of England, and consort of his present Majesty George the Fourth, was the daughter of Charles-William-Ferdinand, Prince of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle. Her mother was the sister of our late excellent King, and she was consequently first cousin to his present Majesty. She was born on the 17th of May, 1768.

Of the early life and education of this illustrious lady but little authentic information has been recorded. She is represented as having been remarkable at a very tender age for quickness of perception, and the facility with which she acquired those accomplishments inseparable from the exalted station she was destined to occupy in society. In her years of childhood she is said to have developed much of that strength of mind and energy of character for which, in the latter period of her career, she has been so deservedly celebrated.

The court of the Duke of Brunswick, at Wolfenbuttle, at which the young Princess was brought up under the eye of

her mother, happened to be at the period to which we now refer very much frequented by military men from all parts of Europe. The Duke was himself an able tactitian, and delighted in making his court the resort of persons whose characters bore some affinity to his own. His palace was therefore often crowded with those gallant officers, whose military skill and prowess had been made sufficiently manifest in the wars of Europe, to render them deserving of that kind hospitality with which he was ever accustomed to receive all men of high military reputation. To this circumstance, added to the laxity of manners for which continental courts have not seldom been distinguished, may, in some measure, be ascribed that freedom and levity of conduct which has been justly attributed to the subject of the present memoir, as well by her friends as her enemies, and out of which has originated so much of her subsequent unhappiness.

In 1794, at the pressing instance of the late King, negotiations were entered into for a marriage between his present Majesty, then Prince of Wales, and the Princess Caroline of Brunswick. These arrangements were concluded on the 20th of December, 1794, and preparations were made for the immediate departure of the Princess from her native city.

Captain Payne, who was appointed commodore, and had hoisted his broad pendant on board the *Jupiter* of 50 guns, was deputed, with a strong squadron, to convey her Royal Highness to this country. On the 2d of March, 1795, they set sail, and after encountering some tremendous storms, and immense masses of ice, which had nearly proved fatal to four of the vessels, they arrived at Cuxhaven in safety, although in a shattered condition; and on the 28th Captain P. returned with the illustrious passenger, accompanied by her mother and a numerous retinue. About noon she landed from the *Augusta* yacht, in front of Greenwich Hospital, where she was received by Sir Hugh Palliser, the governor.

Besides her own family and retinue, the Princess was attended on her voyage by the Earl of Malmesbury, Mrs. Harcourt, and several distinguished characters; and, on her arrival



at the British court, she was received with all those demonstrations of respect to which her relative connection with the son and heir to the throne entitled her.

The marriage of the Princess to the Prince of Wales, took place in the Chapel Royal of St. James's Palace, on the 8th of April, 1795, in the presence of the King and Queen of England, and of all the persons of elevated rank in the kingdom. It was solemnized by the then Archbishop of Canterbury. The nation testified its satisfaction at this union by numerous congratulatory addresses.

It may not be irrelevant to mention, that the Prince had, previous to his marriage, incurred debts to the amount of upwards of 600,000*l.* The subject was brought before Parliament, and the King, in his message to the House, about twenty days after the marriage had taken place, begged that a suitable establishment should forthwith be settled upon the royal pair; suggesting at the same time, that the benefit of any such settlement could not be effectually secured to the Prince until he was relieved from the weighty incumbrances under which he laboured. Upon this ground, his Royal Highness's annual allowances from the nation were increased from 60,000*l.* to 125,000*l.*, of which 40,000*l.* per annum was set apart by the Prince for the liquidation of his debts. A grant of 27,000*l.* was also allowed him for preparations for the marriage; 28,000*l.* for jewels, plate, &c.; and a further sum of 26,000*l.* for furnishing Carlton House.

Royal marriages (observes a respectable modern author) are seldom made in heaven. That an union, resulting from motives of state policy, should be productive of much ardour or affection was not reasonably to be expected; but that a virtuous, honorable, and high-minded woman, in giving her hand to the first gentleman in England, the most accomplished Prince in Europe, should be entitled to indulge the hope of enjoying and imparting happiness was as little to be questioned. Such it might be supposed was the prospect of the august pair five-and-twenty years ago. Unfortunately for the parties themselves, — unfortunatety for the hopes and wishes of

the nation, that prospect was never realized. A very short time subsequent to the union of the Prince and Princess of Wales, circumstances arose calculated to disturb their domestic bliss. It will not be our object to speculate upon the probable cause of these dissensions. They might have arisen out of the cabals of those who envied the illustrious stranger the legal claim she had obtained to the affections of her husband; or they might have originated in impropriety of conduct in one or other of the parties: however this may have been, the differences of the royal pair appear to have been almost coeval with their union.

On the 7th January, 1796, the Princess of Wales was delivered, at Carlton House, of a daughter — an heiress to the British empire — the late amiable and ever to be lamented Princess Charlotte of Saxe Cobourg. The royal infant drew her first breath between the hours of one and two in the morning; when there were present, the Duke of Gloucester, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord High Chancellor, the Lord President of his Majesty's Council, the Duke of Leeds, the Lord Chamberlain and Master of the Horse (Earl Jersey) to the Prince of Wales, Lord Thurlow, and the Lords and Ladies of her Royal Highness' Bedchamber. The Great Officers of the State were also in attendance; and the general anxiety on this occasion was met by every possible precaution. Numerous congratulatory addresses were showered in upon the royal pair from all parts of the country. The joy of the nation was lively and sincere. The long period during which the Prince of Wales had remained unmarried, and the disastrous prospect of a broken succession, had led the people of England to look forward to this event with an extraordinary degree of anxiety. Their hopes have at length been cruelly frustrated by the death of the object of their solicitude, when it had arrived at its full maturity. The blight of the early bud would probably have affected them less severely. But these are idle speculations.

The royal baptism was appointed for the 11th February. At half-past four their Majesties and the Princesses went in

two coaches down to the Park at Carlton House, where they were received by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Dinner was soon after served, which consisted of two full courses, and a dessert in the most elegant, but frugal, style. Only the Royal Family sat down to table.

The Princess of Wales was the hostess. At half-past nine, by the King's own appointment, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the State Officers of the King and Queen's household, and the several attendants of their Majesties and the Royal Family, had previously arrived. They were ushered into the great audience chambers, at the head of which was the young Princess, (who lay in a state cradle,) with the attendants. The ceremony of christening was then performed. The sponsors were the King and Queen, and the Duke and Duchess of York.

A short time subsequent to the birth of the Princess Charlotte, the unfortunate dissensions, to which we have already reluctantly referred, were revived between the royal parents, and a separation took place without either party quitting their joint residence. In this painful and distressing situation matters remained, until April, 1796, when a message was conveyed to the Princess of Wales, through the medium of Lord Cholmondely, suggesting that the intercourse between her and the Prince was in future to be of the most restrictive nature; in short, that a separation as to all conjugal relations was, from that time and for ever, to take place. In this arrangement her Royal Highness acquiesced; but in so doing, she desired it to be understood, that should it be once made, she should insist on its being considered as final; and that his Royal Highness should not retain the right, from time to time, at his pleasure, or under any circumstances, to alter it. Regarding a point of such delicacy, however, as infinitely too important to rest upon a mere verbal communication, she requested that his Royal Highness' pleasure upon it should be communicated to her in writing. In compliance with this request, the Prince addressed her the following letter:



*“ Windsor Castle, April 30. 1796.*

“ MADAM, — As Lord Cholmondeley informs me that you wish I would define, in writing, the terms upon which we are to live, I shall endeavour to explain myself upon that head with as much clearness, and with as much propriety, as the nature of the subject will admit. Our inclinations are not in our power, nor should either of us be held answerable to the other, because nature has not made us suitable to each other. Tranquil and comfortable society is, however, in our power: let our intercourse, therefore, be restricted to that, and I will distinctly subscribe to the condition which you required through Lady Cholmondeley, that, even in the event of any accident happening to my daughter, in which I trust Providence, in his mercy, will avert, I should not infringe the terms of the restriction, by proposing at any period a connection of a more particular nature. I shall now finally close this disagreeable correspondence, trusting that, as we have completely explained ourselves to each other, the rest of our lives will be passed in uninterrupted tranquillity. — I am, Madam, with great truth, very sincerely yours,

(Signed)

“ GEORGE, P.”

To this address the Princess replied as follows:

“ The avowal of your conversation with Lord Cholmondeley neither surprises nor offends me. It merely confirms what you have tacitly insinuated for this twelvemonth. But, after this, it would be a want of delicacy, or rather an unworthy meanness in me, were I to complain of those conditions which you impose upon yourself.

“ I should have returned no answer to your letter if it had not been conceived in terms to make it doubtful whether this arrangement proceeds from you or from me; and you are aware that the credit of it belongs to you alone.

“ The letter which you announce to me as the last, obliges me to communicate to the King, as to my sovereign and my father, both your avowal and my answer. You will find

enclosed the copy of my letter to the King. I apprise you of it, that I may not incur the slightest reproach of duplicity from you. As I have at this moment no protector but his Majesty, I refer myself solely to him upon this subject, and if my conduct meets his approbation, I shall be in some degree at least consoled. I retain every sentiment of gratitude for the situation in which I find myself, as Princess of Wales, enabled, by your means, to indulge in the free exercise of a virtue dear to my heart, — I mean, charity.

“It will be my duty likewise to act upon another motive, that of giving an example of patience and resignation under every trial.

“Do me the justice to believe, that I shall never cease to pray for your happiness, and to be your much devoted,

(Signed)

“CAROLINE.”

“*6th of May, 1796.*”

It is but justice to the memory of her late Majesty to remark, that at this juncture no crime, not even the shadow of guilt, was imputed to her. The causes in which this extraordinary measure originated, are enveloped in impenetrable mystery.

The correspondence was not made public at the time; but the final separation of the parties took place immediately, and from this period her Royal Highness resided in Montague House, Blackheath: still, however, she continued to visit the royal palace as a public personage.

During the term of her residence at Blackheath, the Princess of Wales appears to have lived comparatively retired, receiving few visitors, and confining her acquaintance chiefly to a particular and select circle. In 1804, however, a circumstance occurred which implied a doubt as to the propriety of her conduct.

On the birth-day of the King, Jonathan Partridge, the porter of Belvidere, belonging to Lord Earlily, was sent for by an honourable nobleman of high rank, (Lord Moira,) and questioned minutely respecting the behaviour of the Princess

of Wales, on a visit which she had made a few weeks previous, attended by one gentleman and a party of ladies, to view the grounds and pictures at Belvidere. "His Lordship," it is stated in a deposition afterwards made by the said Jonathan Partridge, "told me, in the course of what he said to me, that it was a subject of importance, and might be of consequence. His Lordship, finding I had nothing more to say, told me I might go." This porter was a second time sent for by the same nobleman, (the confidential friend of the Prince,) and asked, "if he was sure of what he had said being all that he could say respecting the Princess?" He replied it was, and that, if his Lordship thought proper, he was ready to attest it on oath. But his Lordship did not think proper, and Partridge was again dismissed. It appears that the testimony of this person tended to the removal of any misrepresentation of what had passed on the visit in question.

In the latter part of the following year, or the beginning of 1806, the Duke of Sussex informed the Prince, that Sir John Douglas, who resided not far from Montague House, the residence of the Princess, had made known to him some circumstances respecting the behaviour of her Royal Highness, which, in the opinion of the Duke, it was of the highest importance the Prince should hear, as they might, if true, not only affect the honour and peace of his Royal Highness, but also the succession to the throne. Sir John and Lady Douglas having made a formal declaration of the charges they thought proper to advance against the Princess of Wales, this document was submitted by the Prince to Lord Thurlow, who decided that his Royal Highness had no alternative but to submit the matter to the King. This advice was accordingly followed, and some further examinations took place, when the declarations of William and Sarah Lambert, servants to Sir John Douglas, William Cole, Robert and Sarah Bidgood, Frances Lloyd, and Sir John and Lady Douglas, were laid before his Majesty, who forthwith issued a warrant, dated May 1806, directing and authorising Lord Erskine, as Lord Chancellor; Lord Grenville, as First Lord of the Treasury; Earl



Spencer, as one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; and Lord Ellenborough, as Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, to inquire into the truth of the said allegations, and to report to him thereupon.

Before we proceed to lay before our readers the nature of the declarations referred to, it may be proper to mention the origin of the Princess's acquaintance with Sir John and Lady Douglas, and the probable motives by which they were actuated in volunteering their evidence at this particular juncture: to do this, we shall find it necessary to go back to the year 1801. When Sir John and Lady Douglas took a house at Blackheath in the month of November the same year, it is stated, that her Royal Highness passing the door of Sir John, happened to pause a few minutes before it, when Lady Douglas came out, introduced herself to the Princess, and pressed her to honour her by entering the house. This invitation was favourably received, and a close intimacy commenced between the parties. If this be true, it only serves to prove, that her Royal Highness, probably from a too great openness, and unsuspiciousness of disposition, showed less circumspection on this occasion than might have been expected from a person of her dignified station in society. To this want of caution may be inferred much of the misery she was subsequently destined to undergo.

The friendly intercourse between the Princess of Wales and Sir John and Lady Douglas continued without interruption until the year 1804, when her Royal Highness appears to have taken offence at some part of Lady D.'s conduct. It has been also reported, that she received an anonymous communication warning her against this lady. However this may have been, the Princess appears to have been desirous of withdrawing herself from Lady Douglas's society altogether; as, besides denying herself to her several times, she intimated her wish, through Mrs. Vernon, her lady in waiting, that all intercourse should be at an end between them. Lady Douglas seems to have considered herself ill used by the Princess, and her subsequent depositions against her Royal Highness have

been frequently, and no doubt justly, described as having originated in pique and resentment. It may here be proper to notice, that up to the year 1804 Lady Douglas declares she never mentioned to any person, not even to her husband, the misconduct she afterwards alleged against the Princess. Upon her own acknowledgment this lady did not betray her illustrious friend, from horror at her dereliction of principle, but because she had herself been offended, and her own personal 'feelings wounded.' "On this hint she spake."

When the Duke of Sussex first made the communication to the Prince, he added, that "the Duke of Kent had been partly acquainted with the matter twelve months before." The Prince of Wales accordingly waited on his brother the Duke of Kent, who, without hesitation, mentioned, that about the end of the year 1804, he had received a note from the Princess of Wales, in which she stated that she had involved herself in an unpleasant altercation with Sir John and Lady Douglas, about an anonymous letter and a filthy caricature, which they had presumed to attribute to her Royal Highness. She requested the Duke of Kent to interfere, and to prevent the matter from going further. His Royal Highness, therefore, applied to Sir Sydney Smith, and through him procured an interview with Sir John Douglas: the latter stated his conviction, that both the anonymous letter and the loose drawing were by the hand of the Princess, and that her design was to provoke Sir John Douglas to a duel with his old friend Sir Sydney Smith, by reason of the gross insinuation conveyed respecting Lady Douglas and Sir Sydney. The Duke declared that he was convinced of the falsehood of the insinuation in question, and tolerably certain that both fabrications were in fact some idle story, with which the Princess had no connection whatever. This declaration had the effect of silencing Sir John Douglas for a time; and the Duke of Kent said that he did not deem it proper, under the circumstances, to make his Royal Highness acquainted with a circumstance which might rest entirely on the misapprehension of both parties.

The commissioners, already mentioned, pursuant to the directions of his Majesty, commenced their examination on oath, of Sir John Douglas and Charlotte his wife; the main point of whose evidence was, that the Princess had been pregnant, and had had a child in the year 1802. Lady Douglas deposed, that from the familiar footing of Sir Sydney Smith at Montague House, she suspected him to be the father of the child in question; but she admitted that she had never observed any impropriety in the conduct of the Princess towards him.

The deposition of Sir John Douglas was very short. The only material allegation in it was, that he swore the Princess appeared to him to be pregnant in 1802.

The evidence of these two parties was attempted to be sustained by that of several persons who had lived as servants with the Princess, from the time she had resided at Carlton House: most of their statements, however, were hostile to those of Sir John and Lady Douglas. Robert Bidgood, although he declared that he had observed some familiarities passing between the Princess and Captain Manby, swore that he never observed any appearance of the Princess which could lead him to suppose that she was with child. Charlotte Sander, a German female, who attended on the Princess as her dresser, swore that the child alluded to by Lady Douglas, was brought to her by a woman named Austin, whose husband worked in the dock-yard at Deptford. "The Princess," said she, "was not ill or indisposed in the autumn of 1802. *She could not be ill or indisposed without my knowing it.* I am sure that she was not confined to her room, or to her bed, in that autumn: there was not to my knowledge any other child in the house; it was hardly possible there could have been any other child there without my knowing it. I have no recollection that the Princess had grown bigger in the year 1802, than usual. I am sure that the Princess was not pregnant; being her dresser, I must have seen it if she was. I solemnly and positively swear, I have no reason to know or believe that the Princess of Wales has been at any time pregnant during



the time that I have lived with her at Montague House. I never heard any body say any thing about the Princess being pregnant till I came here to-day. I never had any reason to suppose that the Princess received the visits of any gentleman at improper hours." This witness also denied that Captain Manby had ever been with her Royal Highness at improper hours.

Frances Lloyd, another servant, bore testimony to the child having been brought to Montague House by its mother, whose name was Austin, and who cried at parting with it, and said she could not afford to keep it. A similar evidence was given by Mary Ann Wilson, who declared she never noticed the shape of the Princess in 1802 to be different from what it had been before. Thomas Stikeman, a page to the Princess, gave an account of the child having been brought by its mother, Mrs. Austin, and of the Princess never having the appearance of pregnancy. The same thing was stated by Sicard, her steward, and other witnesses; and, in short, a mass of evidence went clearly to prove that most of the statements of Lady Douglas were gross falsehoods. The delivery of Sophia Austin of her male child, William, in Brownlow-street hospital, was proved by her own and other evidence, as well as the registry of its baptism; and also its being taken under the protection of the Princess. There remained nothing then to be disproved except the statements made by some of the witnesses, of the Princess having been seen taking improper familiarities with Captain Manby and Sir Sydney Smith. Mrs. Fitzgerald, a companion of the Princess, positively contradicted one assertion made by Lady Douglas; and declared on oath, that Captain Manby had never been in company with the Princess at improper hours. Various exculpatory statements were also made by the medical gentlemen who attended the Princess.

Sir Sydney Smith was at the time of these examinations absent in the service of his country: but it has been reported, that, on his return to England, he had the honor of an inter-

view with his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, at which he assured him, that whatever had been imputed to him (Sir Sydney) was an infamous falsehood.

After a careful investigation of the evidence, (of which we have given a digest,) the commissioners submitted the report (of which we subjoin an extract) to his Majesty, in which it will be seen, that although they exculpated her Royal Highness from the principal and most offensive of the charges brought against her, they expressed their disapprobation of her conduct in very devoted terms, and suggested to his Majesty to convey his reproof to her accordingly.

“ We are happy to declare to your Majesty our perfect conviction that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now with the Princess is the child of her Royal Highness, or that she was delivered of any child in the year 1802; nor has any thing appeared to us which would warrant the belief that she was pregnant in that year or at any other period within the compass of our inquiries.

“ The identity of the child, now with the Princess, its parentage, the place and the date of its birth, the time and the circumstances of its being first taken under her Royal Highness's protection, are all established by such a concurrence, both of positive and circumstantial evidence, as can, in our judgment, leave no question on this part of the subject. That child was, beyond all doubt, born in the Brownlow-street hospital, on the 11th day of July, 1802, of the body of Sophia Austin, and was first brought to the Princess's house in the month of November following. Neither should we be more warranted in expressing any doubt respecting the alleged pregnancy of the Princess, as stated in the original declarations — a fact so fully contradicted, and by so many witnesses, to whom, if true, it must, in various ways have been known, that we cannot think it entitled to the smallest credit. The testimonies on these two points are contained in the annexed depositions and letters. We have not partially abstracted them in this report, lest, by any unintentional

omission, we might weaken their effect; but we humbly offer to your Majesty, this our clear and unanimous judgment upon them, formed on full deliberation, and pronounced without hesitation on the result of the whole inquiry.

“ We do not however feel ourselves at liberty, much as we should wish it, to close our report here. Besides the allegations of the pregnancy and delivery of the Princess, those declarations, on the whole of which your Majesty has been pleased to command us to inquire and report, contain, as we have already remarked, other particulars respecting the conduct of her Royal Highness, such as must, especially, considering her exalted rank and station, necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable interpretations.

“ From the various depositions and proofs annexed to this report, particularly from the examinations of Robert Bidgood, William Cole, Frances Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle, your Majesty will perceive that several strong circumstances of this description have been positively sworn to by witnesses, who cannot, in our judgment, be suspected of any unfavourable bias, and whose veracity, in this respect, we have seen no ground to question.

“ On the precise bearing and effect of the facts thus appearing, it is not for us to decide; these we submit to your Majesty’s wisdom: but we conceive it to be our duty to report on this part of the inquiry, as distinctly as on the former facts: that, as on the one hand, the facts of pregnancy and delivery are to our minds satisfactorily disproved, so on the other hand we think, that the circumstances to which we now refer, particularly those stated to have passed between her Royal Highness and Captain Manby, must be credited until they shall receive some decisive contradiction; and, if true, are justly entitled to the most serious consideration.

“ We cannot close this report, without humbly assuring your Majesty, that it was, on every account, our anxious wish to have executed this delicate trust, with as little publicity as the nature of the case would possibly allow; and we entreat your Majesty’s permission to express our full persuasion, that if



this wish has been disappointed, the failure is not imputable to any thing unnecessarily said or done by us.

“ All which is most humbly submitted to your Majesty.

(Signed)

“ ERSKINE,

“ SPENCER,

“ GRENVILLE,

“ *July 14th, 1806.*

“ ELLENBOROUGH.”

“ (A true copy, J. BECKET.)”

Immediately on the receipt of the report, her Royal Highness addressed the following letter to the King:

“ *Blackheath, Aug. 12. 1806.*

“ SIRE, — With the deepest feelings of gratitude to your Majesty, I take the first opportunity to acknowledge having received, as yesterday only, the report from the Lords’ Commissioners, which was dated from the 14th of July. It was brought by Lord Erskine’s footman, directed to the Princess of Wales; besides a note enclosed, the contents of which were, that Lord Erskine sent the evidences and report by commands of his Majesty. I had reason to flatter myself that the Lords’ Commissioners would not have given in the report, before they had been properly informed of various circumstances, which must, for a feeling and delicate-minded woman, be very unpleasant to have spread, without having the means to exculpate herself. But I can in the face of the Almighty assure your Majesty that your daughter-in-law is innocent, and her conduct unquestionable; free from all the indecorums, and improprieties which are imputed to her at present by the Lords’ Commissioners, upon the evidence of persons, who speak as falsely as Sir John and Lady Douglas themselves. Your Majesty can be sure that I shall be anxious to give the most solemn denial in my power to all the scandalous stories of Bidgood and Cole; to make my conduct to be cleared in the most satisfactory way for the tranquillity of your Majesty, for the honor of your illustrious family, and the gratification of your afflicted daughter-in-law. In the mean time I can safely trust your Majesty’s gracious justice to recollect, that

the whole of the evidence on which the Commissioners have given credit to the infamous stories charged against me, was taken behind my back, without my having any opportunity to contradict or explain any thing, or even to point out those persons who might have been called, to prove the little credit which was due to some of the witnesses, from their connection with Sir John and Lady Douglas; and the absolute falsehood of parts of the evidence, which could have been completely contradicted. Oh! gracious King, I now look for that happy moment, when I may be allowed to appear again before your Majesty's eyes, and receive once more the assurance from your Majesty's own mouth that I have your gracious protection; and that you will not discard me from your friendship, of which your Majesty has been so condescending to give me so many marks of kindness; and which must be my only support, and my only consolation, in this country. I remain with sentiments of the highest esteem, veneration, and unfeigned attachment, Sire, your Majesty's most dutiful, submissive, and humble daughter-in-law and subject,

(Signed)

“CAROLINE.”

“*To the King.*”

On the 17th August the Princess of Wales again wrote to his Majesty, requesting to be furnished with authenticated copies of the report, and of the declarations and depositions on which it proceeded. This request was complied with, and the papers were submitted to her Royal Highness's legal advisers, Lord Eldon, Mr. Perceval, and Sir Thomas Plumer. On the 2d of October she transmitted to the King a long and elaborate letter, drawn up, of course, by her professional friends, in which the charges brought against her, and the evidence upon which they rested, were separately commented upon.

After remarking, that the extravagance of the malice of Sir John and Lady Douglas had defeated itself, she stated that there “still remained imputations, strangely sanctioned, and countenanced by the report,” respecting which she could not

remain silent without incurring the most fatal consequences to her honour and character. Against the substance of the proceeding itself, and the manner in which it was conducted, she considered herself bound to protest. The report, it was observed, proceeded upon *ex parte* examination, without affording her an opportunity of explaining or defending. Her conduct had been made the subject of investigation; but the cause of this she did not learn until the investigation had actually taken place, and then she found that the charge against her was high treason, committed in the foul crime of adultery. In this communication-her Royal Highness dwelt with great force of argument, on the extreme improbability of Lady Douglas's affirmation respecting her pregnancy. We give the following extract from this document, without abbreviation, because it contains her Royal Highness's reply to that particular portion of the evidence (namely, the depositions of Cole and Bidgood,) upon which the Commissioners now dwelt, when they stated, that, independent of her imputed pregnancy, "there were other particulars respecting the conduct of her Royal Highness which must necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable interpretations."

"The imputations which I collect to be considered as cast upon me by these several witnesses, are, too great familiarity and intimacy with several gentlemen; Sir Sydney Smith, Mr. Lawrence, Captain Manby, and I know not, whether the same are not meant to be extended to Lord Hood, Mr. Chester, and Captain Moore.

"Upon the evidence which respects Sir Sydney Smith, I would request your Majesty to understand, that with respect to the fact of Sir Sydney Smith's visiting frequently at Montague House, both with Sir John and Lady Douglas, and without them; with respect to his being frequently there, at luncheon, dinner, and supper; and staying with the rest of the company till twelve, one o'clock, or even sometimes later; if these are some of the facts 'which must give occasion to unfavourable interpretations, and must be credited till they are contradicted;' they are facts, which I never can contradict,



for they are perfectly true. And I trust it will imply the confession of no guilt, to admit that Sir Sydney Smith's conversation, his account of the various and extraordinary events, and heroic achievements in which he had been concerned, amused and interested me; and the circumstance of his living so much with his friends, Sir John and Lady Douglas, in my neighbourhood on Blackheath, gave the opportunity of his increasing his acquaintance with me.

“ It happened also that about this time I fitted up, as your Majesty may have observed, one of the rooms in my house after the fashion of a Turkish tent. Sir Sydney furnished me with a pattern for it, in a drawing of the tent of Murad Bey, which he had brought over with him from Egypt. And he taught me how to draw Egyptian arabesques, which were necessary for the ornaments of the cieling: this may have occasioned, while that room was fitting up, several visits, and possibly some, though I do not recollect them, as early in the morning as Mr. Bidgood mentions. I believe also that it has happened more than once that, walking with my ladies in the Park, we have met Sir Sydney Smith, and that he has come in, with us, through the gate from the Park. My ladies may have gone up to take off their cloaks, or to dress, and have left me alone with him; and, at some one of these times it may very possibly have happened that Mr. Cole and Mr. Bidgood may have seen him, when he has not come through the waiting-room, nor been let in by any of the footmen. But I solemnly declare to your Majesty that I have not the least idea or belief that he ever had a key of the gate into the Park, or that he ever entered in or passed out at that gate, except in company with myself and my ladies. As for the circumstance of my permitting him to be in the room alone with me; if suffering a man to be so alone is evidence of guilt, from whence the Commissioners can draw any unfavourable inference, I must leave them to draw it. For I cannot deny that it has happened, and happened frequently; not only with Sir Sydney Smith, but with many, many others; gentlemen who have visited me; tradesmen who have come to

receive my orders; masters whom I have had to instruct me, in painting, in music, in English, &c. that I have received them without any one being by. In short, I trust I am not confessing a crime, for unquestionably it is a truth, that I never had an idea that there was any thing wrong, or objectionable, in thus seeing men, in the morning; and I confidently believe your Majesty will see nothing in it from which any guilt can be inferred. I feel certain that there is nothing immoral in the thing itself; and I have always understood, that it was perfectly customary and usual for ladies of the first rank, and the first character, in the country, to receive the visits of gentlemen in a morning, though they might be themselves alone at the time. But, if, in the opinions and fashions of this country, there should be more impropriety ascribed to it, than what it ever entered into my mind to conceive, I hope your Majesty, and every candid mind, will make allowance for the different notions which my foreign education and foreign habits may have given me."

Without desiring to make any injurious comments upon this portion of the Princess of Wales' justification, we cannot help expressing our conviction, that, as a "widowed wife" she was bound to observe a more than ordinary circumspection of conduct. Her situation was peculiarly delicate, and required, on her part, a more than common attention to even the *minutiæ* of propriety and decorum. It cannot be contended, that even a "foreign education," which her Royal Highness pleads in extenuation of these acknowledged improprieties, is an adequate excuse for the breach of those forms, without an attention to which no virtue, however exalted, can hope to escape imputation and calumny. It is impossible for any man of honour to contend, that a wife, in the very peculiar situation of the Princess of Wales, could receive the constant visits of particular gentlemen, early and late, and suffer herself to be seen alone with them, (however her own conscience might acquit her,) without laying herself open to misrepresentation and calumny.

After replying at some length to the evidence of Cole, Bid-

good, and Lloyd, her Royal Highness proceeded to examine the evidence of Mrs. Lisle. What is exactly meant by flirting conduct, "it is difficult," says the Princess, "with any precision to ascertain. How many women are there, most virtuous, most truly modest, incapable of any thing impure, vicious, or immoral, in deed or thought, who, from greater vivacity of spirits, from less natural reserve, from the want of caution, which the very consciousness of innocence betrays into, conduct themselves in a manner which a woman of graver character, of a more reserved disposition, but not with one particular or superior virtue, thinks too incautious, too unreserved, too familiar; and which, if forced upon her oath to give her opinion upon it, she might feel herself, as an honest woman, bound to say, on that opinion, was flirting."

After noticing, with much force of argument, the other depositions of the different witnesses, the Princess of Wales thus concludes her letter to the King:

"What I have said, I have said under the pressure of much misfortune, under the provocation of great and accumulated injustice. Oh! Sire, to be unfortunate, and scarce to feel at liberty to lament; to be cruelly used, and to feel it almost an offence and a duty to be silent, is a hard lot; but use had, in some degree, inured me to it: but to find my misfortunes and my injuries imputed to me as faults; to be called to account upon a charge, made against me by Lady Douglas, who was thought at first worthy of credit, although she had pledged her veracity to the fact, of my having admitted that I was myself the aggressor in every thing of which I had to complain, has subdued all power of patient bearing; and when I was called upon by the Commissioners, either to admit, by my silence, the guilt which they imputed to me, or to enter into my defence, in contradiction to it; no longer at liberty to remain silent, I, perhaps, have not known how, with exact propriety, to limit my expressions.

"In happier days of my life, before my spirit had been yet at all lowered by my misfortunes, I should have been disposed to have met such a charge with the contempt which,



I trust, by this time, your Majesty thinks due to it; I should have been disposed to have defied my enemies to the utmost, and to have scorned to answer to any thing but a legal charge before a competent tribunal; but in my present misfortunes, such force of mind is gone. I ought, perhaps, so far to be thankful to them for their wholesome lessons of humility. I have therefore entered into this long detail, to endeavour to remove, at the first possible opportunity, any unfavourable impressions; to rescue myself from the dangers which the continuance of these suspicions might occasion, and to preserve to me your Majesty's good opinion, in whose kindness, hitherto, I have found infinite consolation, and to whose justice, under all circumstances, I can confidently appeal.

“ Under the impression of these sentiments I throw myself at your Majesty's feet. I know, that whatever sentiments of resentment, whatever wish for redress, by the punishment of my false accusers, I ought to feel, your Majesty, as the father of a stranger, smarting under false accusation, as the head of your illustrious house dishonoured in me, and as the great guardian of the laws of your kingdom, thus foully attempted to have been applied to the purposes of injustice, will not fail to feel for me. At all events, I trust your Majesty will restore me to the blessing of your gracious presence, and confirm to me, by your own gracious words, your satisfactory conviction of my innocence.”

On the 8th of December, nine weeks having elapsed since the date of her former communication, the Princess of Wales once more addressed his Majesty, expressing her anxiety and her wish to be informed whether she might be admitted to his royal presence. The following is the reply of the King, which is important, inasmuch, as while it contains her exculpation from the principal charges brought against her, it is also devoted to the expression of his Majesty's disapprobation of the general tenor of her Royal Highness's conduct, from impressions arising entirely out of her own representations of it:

“ The King having referred to his confidential servants the

proceedings and papers relative to the written declarations, which had been before his Majesty, respecting the conduct of the Princess of Wales, has been apprised by them, that after the fullest consideration of the examinations taken on that subject, and of the observations and affidavits brought forward by the Princess of Wales's legal advisers, they agree in the opinions submitted to his Majesty in the original report of the four Lords, by whom his Majesty directed that the matter should, in the first instance, be inquired into; and that, in the present stage of the business, upon a mature and deliberate view of this most important subject in all its parts and bearings, it is their opinion, that the facts of this case do not warrant their advising that any further step should be taken in the business by his Majesty's Government, or any other proceedings instituted upon it, except such only as his Majesty's law servants may, on reference to them, think fit to recommend for the prosecution of Lady Douglas, on those parts of her depositions which may appear to them to be justly liable thereto.

“ In this situation his Majesty is advised, that it is no longer necessary for him to decline receiving the Princess into his royal presence.

“ The King sees, with great satisfaction, the agreement of his confidential servants, in the decided opinion expressed by the four Lords upon the falsehood of the accusations of pregnancy and delivery, brought forward against the Princess by Lady Douglas.

“ On the other matters produced in the course of the inquiry, the King is advised that none of the facts or allegations stated in preliminary examinations, carried on in the absence of the parties interested, can be considered as legally, or conclusively, established. But in those examinations, and even in the answer drawn in the name of the Princess by her legal advisers, there have appeared circumstances of conduct on the part of the Princess, which his Majesty never could regard but with serious concern. The elevated rank which the Princess holds in this country, and the relation in which she

stands to his Majesty and the royal family, must always deeply involve both the interests of the state, and the personal feelings of his Majesty, in the propriety and correctness of her conduct. And his Majesty cannot therefore forbear to express, in the conclusion of the business, his desire and expectation, that such a conduct may in future be observed by the Princess, as may fully justify those marks of paternal regard and affection, which the King always wishes to shew to every part of his royal family.

“ His Majesty has directed that this message should be transmitted to the Princess of Wales, by his Lord Chancellor ; and that copies of the proceedings, which had taken place on the subject, should also be communicated to his dearly beloved son, the Prince of Wales.”

In reply to this communication, the Princess named the day, on which, if agreeable, she would have the happiness to throw herself in filial duty and affection at his Majesty's feet. The King postponed this meeting on the grounds of mutual convenience ; and subsequently (February 10th, 1807) he sent her the following note :

*“ Windsor Castle, February 10. 1807.*

“ As the Princess of Wales may have been led to expect, from the King's letter to her, that he would fix an early day for seeing her, his Majesty thinks it right to acquaint her, that the Prince of Wales, upon receiving the several documents, which the King directed his Cabinet to transmit to him, made a formal communication to him, of his intention to put them into the hands of his lawyers ; accompanied by a request, that his Majesty would suspend any further steps in the business until the Prince of Wales should be enabled to submit to him the statement which he proposed to make. The King therefore considers it incumbent upon him to defer naming a day to the Princess of Wales, until the further result of the Prince's intention shall have been made known to him.

(Signed)

“ GEORGE R.

*“ To the Princess of Wales.”*



The Princess made a strong appeal against this decision, commenting in decided terms on what she designated "the unparalleled injustice and cruelty of this interposition of the Prince of Wales at such a time and under such circumstances;" and signified her hope that his Majesty would recall his determination.

"The publication of all these proceedings to the world, (adds the Princess) seems to me, under the present circumstances, (whatever reluctance I feel against such a measure, and however I regret the hard necessity which drives me to it,) to be almost the only remaining resource for the vindication of my honour and character."

The threat of the publication of these documents is still further insinuated in another passage of the same communication.

All the principal documents connected with this subject; including the report of the Lords' Commissioners, the letters of the Princess of Wales to his Majesty, and the depositions, both criminatory and exculpatory, had already been printed under the superintendence of Mr. Perceval, in a volume, entitled, "*The Book*." "To avoid coming to this painful extremity," observed her Royal Highness, "I have taken every step in my power, except that of abandoning my character to utter infamy, and my station and life to no uncertain danger, and possibly to no very distant destruction."

Two days previous to the date of this letter (7th March) Mr. Perceval and his friends had been called into his Majesty's councils. No sooner were the ministerial arrangements completed, than a minute of the council was made upon the affair of the Princess, containing the following passage: "Your Majesty's confidential servants, therefore, concurring in that part of the opinion of your late servants, as stated in the minute of the 25th January, that there is no longer any necessity for your Majesty being advised to decline receiving the Princess into your royal presence, humbly submit to your Majesty, that it is essentially necessary, in justice to her Royal Highness, and for the honour and interests

of your Majesty's illustrious family, that her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales should be admitted with as little delay as possible into your Majesty's royal presence; and that she should be received in a manner due to her rank and station in your Majesty's court and family."

The signatures to this minute were those of the Lord Chancellor Eldon, the Lord President Camden, the Lord Privy Seal Westmoreland, the Duke of Portland, the Earl of Chatham, the Earl of Bathurst, Viscount Castlereagh, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Hawkesbury (now Earl of Liverpool,) and Mr. Canning. It was dated 22d April, 1807. The original or authenticated copies of all the papers connected with the late enquiry, were directed to be sealed up, and deposited in the office of the principal secretary of state; the book was suppressed, and all went on quietly for some time.

Notwithstanding the recommendation contained in this document, however, it does not appear that the Princess of Wales was ever received into favour, either at court or in the Royal Family.

After an interval of upwards of four years the subject was once more forced upon the public. In January, 1813, her Royal Highness appears to have been advised to address a letter to the Prince Regent, which was forwarded by Lady Charlotte Campbell to Lord Liverpool, with a request that it might be laid before the Prince. It was returned by that nobleman the day after its receipt, with an intimation, that as all correspondence between the parties had ceased for some years, it was his Royal Highness's determination not to renew it. The letter was, however, once more transmitted, with a notice, that it contained matter of importance to the state, and was again returned unopened. After some further correspondence the letter, which had been from the first, evidently intended for publication, made its appearance in the newspapers.

The main object of this elaborate document would seem to have been the removal of the restrictions which had been imposed upon the Princess of Wales, as to her intercourse

with her daughter. She argued, very justly, that this separation of a daughter from her mother would, in the eyes of the world, admit of but one construction — a construction unfavourable to the mother's reputation. That the character of the Princess Charlotte would be injured by the perpetual violence offered to her strongest affections by the studied care taken to estrange her from the society of her parent, and even to interrupt all communication between them. All attempts to abate her attachment, by a forcible separation of the parent and the child, if they succeeded, must injure her child's principles — if they failed, must destroy her happiness. The letter concluded with some advice as to the domestic treatment of the Princess, and a recommendation that she should be forthwith confirmed.

Much acrimonious discussion, in the newspapers, arose out of this letter, which created so great a ferment in the public mind, that it was deemed advisable by the Prince Regent, to refer the matter to a commission, composed of the highest dignitaries of the church, and the high officers of the law; charging them that they should report to his Royal Highness their opinion, whether under all the circumstances of the case, it were fit and proper that the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and her daughter should continue to be subject to regulations and restrictions.

It was not until many meetings and much deliberation had taken place, that the commissioners made a formal report, the leading clause of which was, that it was "highly fit and proper with a view to the welfare of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, in which were equally involved the happiness of his Royal Highness, in his parental and Royal character, and the most important interests of the state, that the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and her daughter should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint."

On the receipt of this report, the Princess of Wales addressed expostulatory letters to the Lord Chancellor and the Speaker of the House of Commons.

On the 5th March, four days after the receipt of the letter



by the Speaker, Mr. Cochran Johnstone submitted to the House a motion for an address to the Prince Regent, requesting him to order that a copy of a report made to his Majesty on the 14th June, 1806, by Lords Erskine, Spencer, Grenville, and Ellenborough, respecting the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, should be laid before the House, with a view to an enquiry, now, while the witnesses were alive, into all the allegations, facts, and circumstances of that investigation. This motion was opposed and negatived without a division.

A short time afterwards the whole proceedings of 1806, including the evidence of the witnesses, soon appeared in the public prints. Sir John and Lady Douglas still continued to assert the truth of what they had formerly sworn; and they presented a petition to the House, praying that they might be again examined before a competent tribunal; and that should the falsehood of their evidence be established, they might suffer the penalty due to their perjury.

On the 17th of March, Mr. Whitbread, in the House of Commons, entered into a general vindication of the Princess of Wales's conduct; and, in conclusion, moved "an address to the Prince Regent, expressive of the deep concern and indignation of the House at the publication of the obscene and offensive depositions; and requesting his Royal Highness to order measures to be taken for discovering and bringing to justice the persons concerned in giving them publicity." This motion produced a warm, and even angry, debate. It was negatived without a division.

During the discussion Mr. Whitbread referred to an authenticated paper, which he held in his hand, relating to the testimony of some of the witnesses examined before the Commissioners of 1806, and deduced from it some inferences which could only be understood as calumnious reflections on the Commissioners. The illustrious persons who had constituted the commission, took an early opportunity of repelling these injurious insinuations, and of vindicating the whole proceedings. Lord Ellenborough, in particular, declared that the

noble Lords acting under his Majesty's commission had been most foully and malignantly calumniated. "His name," he remarked, "had been inserted in that commission without his knowledge; but once engaged by his Majesty's command, he did his duty to the best of his ability: but it was in the performance of that duty that some person, with the most abandoned and detestable slander, had dared to charge him with a gross act of dishonesty; — him, on whose integrity, diligence, and care, depended more of the property and interests of the people, than on those of any man in the country; — yet of him it was foully and slanderously alleged, that he had *falsified the evidence* given before the commission, giving in as a document, *evidence that was not received, and suppressing that which was actually given.* This was all a lie — a vile slander as FALSE as HELL! He would not violate the propriety of that house; he knew the respect and the decency which it required, but he must give the lie to falsehood. Their Lordships could not blame him for standing forth to repel, in the strongest manner, so base, so impudent, and miscreant an imputation; nay, the thing was foolish as well as wicked: it was despicable from its stupidity."

A few days afterwards (March 31st) Mr. Whitbread moved that a message should be sent to the House of Lords, requesting their Lordships to grant permission to the Earl of Moira to attend at the bar of the House of Commons, for the purpose of being examined as to his knowledge of certain circumstances connected with the conduct of the Princess of Wales, and touching a letter from that Nobleman to the grand lodge of freemasons, which Mr. Whitbread regarded as casting some reflections on her Royal Highness. The Speaker treated this motion as unprecedented: after some discussion it was withdrawn.

The ferment arising out of continual and acrimonious controversy was now beginning to subside, when a circumstance occurred, which for a time involved the country in new perplexities.

In June 1814 it will be remembered that this country was visited by many illustrious strangers from various parts of the

continent. Among other matters connected with the preparations for the reception of these noble guests, the Queen announced her intention of holding two drawing-rooms in the course of that month. Immediately after this notification the Princess of Wales received a letter from her Majesty, dated 23d of May, as follows :

“ The Queen considers it to be her duty to lose no time in acquainting the Princess of Wales that she has received a communication from her son, the Prince Regent, in which he states, that her Majesty’s intention of holding two drawing-rooms in the ensuing month having been notified to the public, he must declare, that he considers his own presence at her court cannot be dispensed with; and that he desires it may be distinctly understood, for reasons of which he alone can be the judge, to be his fixed and unalterable determination not to meet the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in public or private. The Queen is thus placed under the painful necessity of intimating to the Princess of Wales the impossibility of her Majesty’s receiving her Royal Highness at her drawing-room.”

On the following day, her Royal Highness replied, that “ though she could not so far forget her duty to her King and to herself, as to surrender her right to appear at any public drawing-room to be held by her Majesty, yet that she might not add to the difficulty and uneasiness of her Majesty’s situation, she should in the present instance yield to the will of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and should not present herself at the drawing-rooms of the next month.”

On the 26th of the same month the Princess addressed a letter to the Prince, demanding to know what circumstances could justify the proceeding which he had thought fit to adopt.

A further correspondence on the subject took place on the 3d of June, when the Speaker of the House of Commons announced the receipt of a letter from the Princess, animadverting upon the dangerous nature of the “ fixed and unalterable determination of the Prince of Wales never to meet her on



any occasion either in public or private," and inclosing for the information of the House, the correspondence which had passed on this occasion.

After the letters had been read, Mr. Methuen moved, "that an address should be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to pray his Royal Highness that he would be graciously pleased to inform the House by whose advice he had been induced to form the determination alluded to." The debate on this absurd motion was carried on with closed doors. Mr. Bathurst expressed it as his opinion, that the more appeals were made to the public, and the more this unhappy subject should be agitated, the more irritation would be produced by it; and the more injury would be done to the peace of the Royal Family. Mr. Methuen withdrew his motion. On the 23d of the same month, however, this gentleman introduced another motion, in which he dwelt on the necessity of increasing the establishment of her Royal Highness. "Sir," said he, "when the Princess of Wales married, she had an allowance of 17,000*l.* a-year from his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, besides 5000*l.* a year which she received from the Exchequer. In 1800, his Royal Highness sent her a message, informing her, that in consequence of his own embarrassments, he could allow her only 12,000*l.* a-year. In 1809, his Royal Highness undertook to pay her Royal Highness's debts, amounting to 49,000*l.*; and to restore her annual allowance to its original sum of 17,000*l.* For nine years, therefore, her Royal Highness had 5000*l.* a year less than when she resided at Carlton House, and had no separate establishment to maintain. The consequence was obvious. Her Royal Highness's income was so inadequate to her expenditure, that, in July last, she was under the necessity of reducing her establishment to seven domestics, and of almost entirely giving up seeing company." Lord Castlereagh observed, in reply, that it was the first time parliament had been told that an increased provision for her Royal Highness was the object that her friends had in view. "There never was," said his Lordship. "I am fully convinced, a feeling in his Royal Highness's

mind, that any thing like money ought to be a question between them. In the year 1809, when his Royal Highness found that the Princess was in debt, he said, rather than that should be thrown on the public, he was ready to take on himself the payment of her debts, and to add 5000*l.* to her income, making it in all 22,000*l.*, provided that he had any reasonable assurance that no debt contracted by her should in future be brought forward against him. This was agreed to, and a solemn deed was prepared, assuring the separation of the parties. At the time alluded to, the Prince of Wales had an income of 120,000*l.*, which, after deducting the property tax, was 108,000*l.*; and, after deducting the further sum of 40,000*l.*, which the Prince had annually devoted towards the payment of his debts, many of which had been contracted at a period of life that rendered them of an extremely questionable nature, amounted to no more than 70,000*l.* Previously to the year 1809, 12,000*l.* a-year out of that 70,000*l.* was paid to the Princess of Wales; so that the 5000*l.* additional, allowed in 1809, with that 12,000*l.*, made in all a deduction of 17,000*l.* from the income of the Prince, reducing it to 53,000*l.* The debts of the Princess amounted to 49,000*l.* (they amounted in reality, to 80,000*l.*, but they had been reduced to the former sum, in consequence of a grant from the droits of admiralty); and, to liquidate that debt, the Prince undertook to set apart 10,000*l.* a-year; reducing his annual income to 43,000*l.*, as Prince of Wales; which, with 13,000*l.* from the Duchy of Cornwall, was the whole of the sum on which he was reduced to live. “I question,” said his Lordship, “if ever there was a husband who made greater sacrifices for the comfortable establishment of his wife, than the Prince of Wales then did. However the conduct of his Royal Highness may be tortured, and whatever unfavourable construction may be put upon it, I defy any person to say, that he ever betrayed any thing of a vindictive nature towards her, or the smallest wish to interfere with her social comforts: on the contrary, he made sacrifices which no other husband in the land, had he been brought before parliament, would have been called on to make. So

far from the existence of the colour of mind which has been falsely attributed to his Royal Highness, if he could possibly have increased her income without being supposed to be truckling with the base attacks which were continually made on him, he would not have waited for the suggestion of his ministers, had she disentangled herself from the base cabal by whom she was surrounded. With the greatest satisfaction he would have entered into the feelings of her wants himself, and not have suffered his family to be dragged, as it had been, before the public." — His Lordship intimated, that, upon a future day, he should have no objection to submit to the House a proposal for an increase of income to the Princess. — Mr. Methuen again withdrew his motion.

On the 4th of July a proposition was made by Lord Castle-reagh, that the net sum of 50,000*l.* per annum should be granted to the Princess, and that the 5000*l.* and 17,000*l.* which she then enjoyed, should be withheld from the Prince Regent's income. At the recommendation of Mr. Whitbread, her Royal Highness, from a sense of the great expenditure of the country, considerably resolved, that the sum proposed should be diminished to 35,000*l.* per annum: a bill was accordingly passed for settling upon her that sum.

About this time a marriage was talked of between the Princess Charlotte and the Hereditary Prince of Orange, who had received his education in England, and had served with distinction under the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsula. The treaty was, however, at the instance of the young princess herself, finally broken off.

Shortly afterwards, the Princess of Wales came to the resolution of travelling on the continent; an intention which, as she observes in her letter to Mr. Whitbread, she had cherished since the year 1806.

Having applied for, and obtained the Prince Regent's assent, on the 9th August, 1814 the Princess embarked at the seaport of Worthing, in an English frigate, called the Jason, to return by way of Hamburgh to Brunswick. Lady Charlotte Lindsay and Lady Elizabeth Forbes were her maids of



honour. Sir William Gell and Messrs. St. Ledger and Keppel Craven were her chamberlains ; her equerry was Captain Hess, her physician Dr. Holland. She had six servants, namely, a major-domo, a messenger, a page, and two females, all of whom were Germans ; her coachman was the only English servant in her suite.

On the 16th of August her Royal Highness arrived with her retinue at Hamburgh, under the title of the Countess of Wolfenbüttele. She visited the theatre there the same evening, and was received with the loudest acclamations by the audience. Early the next morning she set out for Brunswick. In the evening of the 18th she arrived at Brunswick, and at a short distance from that city was met by his Serene Highness the Duke. A general illumination took place in compliment to her, and it being the Duke's birthday, the festivities and rejoicings were unusually great: the whole of the public authorities were ready at the palace to receive her Royal Highness. On the 29th she left Brunswick on her journey to Italy; and arrived on the 3d September at Frankfort, under the title of the Duchess of Cornwall. On the 6th she arrived at Strasburgh, at which place she remained several days, visiting the public places, promenades, &c. and appeared highly delighted with the amusements and exhibitions she witnessed. The generals and prefects of the Department of the Lower Rhine, Marshal the Duke of Valmy and the mayor of Strasburgh, had severally the honour of paying their respects to her Royal Highness. In the latter end of September, after visiting Berne, Palermo, Lausanne, &c. she arrived at Geneva, where the *ci-devant* Empress of France, Maria Louisa, had just arrived before her.

During her first tour on the continent her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales was received with all the honours and distinctions due to her exalted rank and station. At Capel she was visited by his Serene Highness the Elector, and her Royal Highness the Electress, the Princess of Denmark. She visited the public institutions, and conversed with the professors of the museum. At Strasburgh, we have already stated,

the Duke de Valmy gave in her honor a magnificent *fête*, at which were exhibited a variety of military manœuvres. Her Royal Highness there frequently saw and conversed with Professor Scheweighaufren, author of the celebrated edition of *Athenus*, and since engaged in the republication of *Herodotus*. At Berne, she was visited by her Imperial Highness the Grand Duchess Anne Petrona, her cousin, consort of the Grand Duke Constantine, and daughter of the Emperor of Germany.

At Milan, the Princess of Wales was received with the highest honors. On the 17th of October, 1814, towards the midday, Il Campo di Marte was crowded to witness the military parade, in which infantry and cavalry were to manœuvre, and fire volleys in honor of her Royal Highness, who was seated on the most elevated spot of a spacious area prepared for that purpose. She afterwards rode along the ranks amidst the acclamations of the surrounding multitude, amongst which were distinguished some shouts of liberty and independence, as if her presence had rekindled the half-extinguished hopes which the Italians entertained of being redeemed from their political bondage by the hands of the British nation. In the evening she visited the theatre, attended by Count Bellegarde and all the officers of his *etat-major*. The theatre was most brilliantly illuminated *à Giornò*. On her Royal Highness's entrance the curtain drew up, and the ballet was performed by Scotch girls and peasantry, analogous to the circumstances of the moment. The concourse of people, which was immense, continued, during the performance, to testify their delight at the presence of the Princess, who several times ascended into the *ridotto*, and bowed her thanks in the most graceful manner. The *litterati* of the country also waited upon her Royal Highness to testify their respect and homage.

It was about a week after her arrival at Milan that her Royal Highness took into her service the celebrated Bartolomo Bergami, an Italian, as courier, footman, and *valet de place*. He was a few months afterwards appointed her chamberlain, and, as a further proof of her Majesty's consideration for his services, all the members of his family (with the exception of

his wife) were collated to respectable situations in her household.

Towards the end of October the Princess arrived at Rome, where she was visited by the Ex-King and Queen of Spain, and the Queen of Etruria with her children. On the 2d of November she had an audience of the Pope, who received her with the greatest affability, and with all the respect due to her rank. The same day her Royal Highness visited the Vatican, the Prince Canino, and the workmanship of the celebrated Canova. The Prince Canino, on the 3d, gave a brilliant *fête* to her Royal Highness. On the 9th of November the Princess of Wales arrived at Naples, and was received with distinguished honor. The King went to meet her, and these illustrious personages entered the city about five in the afternoon, in the King's carriage, amidst loud acclamations. A guard of honor from the royal guard was stationed at the Princess's residence. On the 17th the King of Naples visited the school of Mars Diversa, where his Majesty waited the arrival of her Royal Highness. The King invited her to a collation, which she accepted, and about four o'clock these illustrious personages took their road to the capital. The Princess sat in the King's carriage on his right hand; all the inhabitants of the road, from Aversa to Naples, preceding them, and hailing their monarch and their royal visitor with loud and long-continued acclamations. Her Royal Highness remained some time at Naples, honored and esteemed by all who knew her.

Her Royal Highness remained at Naples until the following March. In January she gave a grand entertainment, the principal feature of which was a masked ball, in which her Royal Highness appeared, attired as the Genius of History, and crowned the bust of King Joachim. Scarcely had her Royal Highness commenced her continental travels, when, by a strange coincidence of circumstances, she lost almost all the English in her suite.

Lady Charlotte Lindsay, at the instance of her brother (Lord Glenbervie) left the Princess of Wales at Leghorn, hav-



ing remained with her Royal Highness only 24 days. Lady Elizabeth Forbes took her departure at even an earlier period. Sir William Gell was compelled to forego the honor of attending upon the Princess, in the capacity of chamberlain, in consequence of a severe fit of the gout, and his colleague, the honorable Keppel Craven, was obliged to visit Germany on family affairs, and, in order to meet his mother, the Margravine of Anspach; Captain Hess was recalled to join his regiment; M. St. Leger went no further than Brunswick. Subsequently, however, the Princess wrote to him to join her at Genoa, at the same time offering the post of maid of honor to his daughter: he, however, declined the honor, alleging ill health as the reason. Her Royal Highness then made a similar proposal to Sir Humphrey and Lady Davy, who also declined to accept it. Mr. Rose (brother of the English minister at Berlin) was next applied to; but he refused on the plea of ill-health; as did also Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Hartop (cousin of Mr. Brougham.)

From Naples her Royal Highness went towards Rome, remaining on the way three days at Civita Vecchia: she then passed on to Genoa, where she met with Lady Glenbervie and her Lord; but they could not be prevailed upon to accept of situations in her suite. The *Clorinde* frigate brought Lady Charlotte Campbell and her daughter to Genoa; to the latter the same proposition was made, with similar success.

From Genoa, May 15, accompanied by Bergami, still in the capacity of a courier, her Royal Highness returned to Milan, on board the *Clorinde*, where she was joined by Lady Charlotte Campbell, who remained with her a few weeks, during which term she paid her own expenses, and kept a separate table.

It was now that her Royal Highness received into her service, as a lady of honor, the Countess of Oldi, sister to Bergami, who filled the situation previously occupied by Lady Lindsay.

Her Royal Highness did not remain long at Milan; she soon set out for Venice. In August, 1815, she visited Mount

St. Gothard; thence she proceeded to the Borromeo Islands. Her Majesty next proceeded to Balanzoni, at which place Bergami was admitted, for the first time, to a seat at her Royal Highness's table. She afterwards went to Lugano.

Her Royal Highness at length purchased an elegant villa of the Countess of Pino, upon the banks of the lake of Como, situated only a short distance from the town of that name. The country around this pleasant *casino* is varied and beautiful. The house looked directly on the lake, and the garden, which was most tastefully laid out, contributed much to the beauty of the scene. Her Royal Highness had an avenue of trees, planted at her own expense, of nearly two miles in length, reaching from Como to her palace. Here she fixed her residence for a time, occasionally making excursions to other places.

Her Royal Highness remained at Villa D'Este until November, 1815, on the 15th of which month she embarked, with her suite, on board H. M. ship *Leviathan*, Captain Briggs, for Palermo. Her Royal Highness remained on board until the 26th November; having visited Elba, and arrived at Palermo on that day, where she went to court, accompanied by Bergami, now elevated from the rank of courier to that of chamberlain. From thence she went to Messina, where she remained several weeks. On 6th January, 1816, her Royal Highness embarked on board the *Clorinde* frigate, (the vessel which had previously carried her from Civita Vecchia to Genoa,) for Syracuse. On this occasion the respectable commander of the vessel, Captain Pechel, who, but a short time before, had been accustomed to see Bergami act in the capacity of a menial servant, very properly refused to associate himself at the same table with her Royal Highness' new chamberlain, and remonstrated with her accordingly. After taking two days to consider of it, she finally declined the table and society of Captain Pechel. On the 30th of the month her Royal Highness arrived at Syracuse, and thence proceeded to Catania, and afterwards to Augusta in Sicily. During her stay at Catania the Princess of Wales

obtained for Bergami the title of Knight of Malta, and on her arrival at Augusta, that of Baron della Francina. At the latter place her Royal Highness honored her chamberlain with her portrait, taken in a Turkish dress.

From Augusta the Princess of Wales set sail, with her suite, for Tunis in Africa, in a polacre, hired for the purpose. In this vessel her Royal Highness sailed from Tunis to Utica. On April 16th, 1816, she arrived at Latona.

From Africa the Princess of Wales sailed to Athens, where she arrived on 22d April, 1816, having remained one day at Malta. After visiting some of the Grecian Islands, she proceeded from Athens to Constantinople, and thence to Ephesus.

At Jerusalem, where her Royal Highness had a picture painted of herself and suite, (in which she was represented as riding upon an ass, in imitation, it may be presumed, of the Great Author of Christianity,) she instituted a new order of knighthood, entitled the order of St. Caroline, of which she constituted Bergami the grand master.

At Jaffa, the Princess of Wales embarked on board the polacre. On this voyage, the weather being remarkably sultry, her Royal Highness had a tent fitted up for herself and her chamberlain on deck, under which they reposed at night, without the presence of any other person, for several weeks. This circumstance formed an important feature of the subsequent trial of her Royal Highness, on her return to this country, to claim her rights and privileges as a queen.

In September, 1816, her Royal Highness once more took up her residence at Villa d'Este, on the lake of Como. Some time after her return she purchased a splendid seat, which she presented to her chamberlain. It was subsequently designated the Villa Bergami.

In February, 1817, her Royal Highness made a tour in Germany. Passing through Inspruck, she arrived at Carlsrhuc, where she remained a short time. After this the Princess pursued her way to Tivoli: she returned through Milan to the Villa d'Este, whence, after staying a short time, her Royal



Highness passed on to Rome. Here she resided, with her suite, at the Rupinella Pallace, a house which formerly belonged to one of Buonaparte's family; but soon after took up her abode at a house called the Villa Branchi. From the latter place, in August, the Princess returned once more to Milan. About this time she visited the Barona, in January, 1817, for the purpose of proceeding to Trieste.

On 9th August, 1817, the Princess of Wales arrived at Pesaro, where she made a temporary sojourn. On her return to the Villa d'Este, she made several excursions to various parts of Italy. Of this estate, however, her Royal Highness subsequently disposed, and proceeded to Pesaro, a town in Italy, situated about 130 miles from Rome, where she possessed some property.

Her Royal Highness, during the period of her sojourn at Augusta in Sicily, distributed, daily, money among the poor people. At Tunis, she obtained the liberty of several slaves, and paid the debts of one of them. She gave to the new academy at Athens five hundred of the pieces called colonnates, and she allowed two hundred annually to the same academy, paid into the hands of the banker, Scaramanzo, at Constantinople. All who were in prison for debt were liberated by her, for which she paid seven hundred pieces into the hands of the governor: and she gave two hundred pieces to a poor and numerous Roman family resident in that city. To the conventual fathers of Jerusalem she gave five hundred pieces, and settled on them two hundred annually, to be received from the banker already mentioned; finally, she distributed at Rome two hundred pieces to the poor of that city.

This account of her Royal Highness's benefactions, which we have a sincere pleasure in recording, is extracted from a pamphlet purporting to have been written by an English traveller, entitled "Anecdotes of the Princess of Wales." We trust that the above statements are somewhat more authentic than the general details of this traveller would seem to be: we are at least willing to believe them so.

Of much of the period of her Royal Highness's protracted

sojourn abroad, and the numerous stories which have been circulated to her disadvantage, it is not our intention to treat. During the interval of her absence from this country, she had been visited by many and severe afflictions. Her gallant brother, the Duke of Brunswick, fell, it will be recollected, at the battle of Quatre Bras, on the 16th of June, 1815. Her beloved daughter, the Princess Charlotte, her venerable and revered father-in-law, the King, and her friend and relative, the Duke of Kent, had all paid the debt of nature during her temporary absence from this country.

On the demise of his late excellent Majesty, and the consequent accession of her royal consort, various were the rumours which prevailed as to the probable return of her Majesty to these realms.

At length, on the 26th of May, the Queen arrived at Dijon, and was expected to reach St. Omer's, on her way to Calais, on the 30th. Here it was supposed she would remain some time for the purpose of consulting and making some necessary arrangements with her friends on this side the water.

On the 1st of June, Mr. Brougham, the Queen's confidential legal adviser, left London for Dover, with the view of meeting her Majesty at Calais. Mr. Brougham was accompanied by Lord Hutchinson, who was employed confidentially to submit such proposals to her Majesty, as it was hoped would at once meet her wishes, and induce her to remain on the continent. His Lordship and Mr. Brougham embarked for Dover on Friday afternoon, and on Saturday morning they proceeded to St. Omer's where they met her Majesty. Lord Hutchinson's proposals, delivered in the presence of Mr. Brougham, were said to be, "That her Majesty should renounce all right, title, and claim to the name, dignity, and honors of the Queen of England, and should from henceforth be styled and considered simply as Princess Caroline of Brunswick. That her Majesty should agree never to put her foot in England, or any part of the British dominions: that should she comply with these conditions, an income of 50,000*l.* a-year should be settled upon her, which she might enjoy without molestation:

should she refuse, criminal proceedings would be instituted against her afresh, and the severest penalties might be expected." Her Majesty expressed the utmost indignation at the offer; gave immediate directions to proceed to the coast; and left the hotel (accompanied by Lady Anne Hamilton, young Austin, and Alderman Wood, who had met her Majesty on the other side Paris) so abruptly, that Mr. Brougham was not aware of her departure until he saw her drive off. On her arrival at Calais, her Majesty went on board the common packet, then lying in the harbour, at half-past nine at night, although from the state of the tide the vessel could not sail till the next morning. We extract the following digest of the circumstances attending the arrival of her Majesty from a dispassionate and well written volume, to which we have already had occasion to refer.\*

"At one o'clock on Monday her Majesty landed at Dover, under a royal salute, fired on the responsibility of the commandant of the fort, who had received no orders on the subject. She was hailed with the fondest enthusiasm by the people; the corporation presented her with an address; and, on her leaving the town for Canterbury, the populace took the horses from her carriage, and drew it a considerable distance. Her Majesty slept at Canterbury, where, arriving late in the evening, she was received by torch-light, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people. At Canterbury, also, an address was presented to the Queen, and various gratulatory demonstrations were made. At Gravesend, the horses were again taken from her carriage; and, in every town and village through which she passed, the utmost affection and oyalty to her person were displayed. Still accompanied by Lady Anne Hamilton and Mr. Alderman Wood, in her landau, she slowly entered the metropolis, over Westminster Bridge, on Tuesday evening. The streets, the windows, the house-tops, were thronged with myriads of applauding spec-

\* Henry VIII. and George IV.; or the Case fairly stated. By Thomas Harral.



tators. The procession, thus formed, had all the imposing air of a triumphal entry. The crowd halted at intervals, compelled the horses to stop, and rent the air with acclamations of ‘Long live our gracious Queen Caroline!’ — ‘God bless her!’ — ‘Down with her enemies!’ &c. Proceeding along Parliament-street, up Cockspur-street, and through Pall Mall, they halted in front of Carlton House, and gave three cheers. They then moved forward, up St. James’s-street, and thence to the residence of Alderman Wood, in South Audley-street, where they arrived a little after seven o’clock.

“ Her Majesty’s entrance into the metropolis, on the very day that the King first went down to parliament, to give the royal assent to certain bills which had been passed, might have been accidental, might have been unavoidable; but that the extraordinary cavalcade should have been directed to pass in front of Carlton House, when the distance of only a few yards could have been lost by proceeding up the Hay-market, seems not very consistent with that delicacy and propriety which ought to have been preserved by her Majesty’s advisers. To support the Queen is one thing; to insult the King is another.

“ It was on the same day, however, that a message from his Majesty was delivered to both Houses, announcing the event of the Queen’s arrival, and calling the attention of Parliament to certain papers respecting the conduct of her Majesty since her departure from this kingdom. In the Upper House, the Earl of Liverpool intimated, that he should, on the following day, propose an address to the King, *pro formá*, and move that the papers be referred to a secret committee, to consider and decide whether any, and if any, what steps should be pursued. In the Commons, Lord Castlereagh moved an address to the King, which was agreed to; and gave a similar intimation to that of the Earl of Liverpool, in the Lords. On the succeeding day (Wednesday, June 7,) the Earl of Liverpool moved the address, and also the appointment of a secret committee, of fifteen lords, to be chosen by ballot. In answer to some observations of the Marquis of Lansdowne, that the

House of Lords composed the supreme court of judicature of the country — that they were the only court before which her Majesty could be tried — that the other House might find articles of impeachment against her Majesty, which must be judged by their Lordships; the Earl of Liverpool observed, that had there been evidence to convict her Majesty of high treason, it would not have been proper to try the case before the House of Commons. His Lordship then put the supposititious case respecting the commission of the crime of adultery, by a Queen of England with a foreigner, in a foreign country; and contended that such a case fully answered the objection of the noble Marquis, as it precluded the possibility of an impeachment by the House of Commons. The case was not one of judicial cognizance; it would admit only of a legislative remedy: it was resolved into a question of expediency. Lord Holland thought, that the House of Commons, which was the grand inquest of the nation, might come to a different conclusion; that were the course to be by a bill of divorce, or a bill of pains and penalties, the House would be in an awkward predicament, and that the report of the secret committee could be nothing else than a prejudgment of the case. The Lord Chancellor repeated, and enlarged upon, the arguments of the Earl of Liverpool; and contended, that a secret committee, instituted for a previous inquiry, was analogous to a grand jury in a court of law, which affirmed or negatived a bill of indictment. A secret committee he also regarded as a protecting interference, which might, as a mediate power, recommend proceedings more advantageous to the accused, than could, in the first instance, result from an open deliberation in either House. The Marquis of Lansdowne, on the other hand, thought, that the illustration of the learned lord, relative to the office of a grand jury, was unfortunate for his argument; as the grand jury, which inquired into the propriety of instituting proceedings in a court of law, was distinct from the petty jury, which tried the cause; but, in the present case, the grand jury, which was to find the bill, was the same with the petty jury which was to pronounce the verdict. — The

motion for the appointment of the committee was agreed to; but the ballot did not take place till the following day; and then, with the view of allowing time for conciliation, the farther proceedings were deferred till Monday. The members chosen, were as follows: The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President, the Dukes of Beaufort and Northumberland, the Marquisses of Lansdowne and Buckingham, the Earls of Liverpool, Harrowby, and Beauchamp, Lord Sidmouth, the Bishop of London, Lord Redesdale, Lord Erskine, and the Earl of Lauderdale.

In the House of Commons, on Wednesday, June 7, Mr. Brougham, the Queen's Attorney-general, read a message from her Majesty, which, after some prefatory observations, proceeded as follows:

‘Upon her arrival, the Queen is surprised to find that a message has been sent down to parliament, requiring its attention to written documents, and she learns with still greater astonishment, that there is an intention of proposing that these should be referred to a secret committee. It is this day fourteen years since the first charges were brought forward against her Majesty. Then, and upon every occasion during that long period, she has shewn the utmost readiness to meet her accusers, and to court the fullest inquiry into her conduct. She now also desires an open investigation, in which she may see both the charges and the witnesses against her—a privilege not denied to the meanest subject of the realm. In the face of the sovereign, the parliament, and the country, she solemnly protests against the formation of a secret tribunal, to examine documents privately prepared by her adversaries, as a proceeding unknown to the law of the land, and a flagrant violation of all the principles of justice. She relies, with full confidence, upon the integrity of the House of Commons, for defeating the only attempt she has reason to fear. The Queen cannot forbear to add, that even before any proceedings were resolved upon, she had been treated in a manner too well calculated to prejudge her case. The omission of her name in the Liturgy, the withholding the means of convey-



ance usually afforded to all branches of the royal family, the refusal even of an answer to her application for a place of residence in the royal mansions, and the studied slights of foreign ministers abroad, and of the agents of all foreign powers over whom the English government had any influence, must be viewed as measures designed to prejudice the world against her, and could only have been justified by trial and conviction.'

Lord Castlereagh rose to move that the message might be taken into consideration, but protested against the attempt which had thus been made to represent the crown and the ministers in the light of persecutors or prosecutors in this matter. His Lordship observed, that instead of ballot, the committee should be by nomination. After commenting with much severity on the conduct of her Majesty's advisers, he observed, that Mr. Brougham had been in possession of the proceedings determined on more than a month. By her marriage settlement, the Queen was entitled to 50,000*l.* a-year. The only condition on which the late proposition had been made was, that she should continue to reside abroad. He positively disclaimed any tender having been made to her to give up her dignities as Queen. The only stipulation upon the question of her dignity was, that while travelling abroad, she should, according to an established custom amongst illustrious characters, assume such a title as could not create a perpetual question amongst our ministers at foreign courts, as to the manner in which she was to be treated by them. After his Lordship had moved for referring the papers to a secret committee, Mr. Brougham objected at great length to the evidence which was to be laid before the committee, consisting, as he said, entirely of papers — of letters — of anonymous letters — collected by a secret commission at Milan, which had sat for ten months under the superintendence of a gentleman of the law, one of his Majesty's council. Mr. Brougham expatiated upon a variety of points connected with the subject, particularly upon numerous instances of nefarious conduct alleged to have been practised upon her Majesty on the con-

tinient; after which, Mr. Canning, in reply, complained that the dissent which the honorable and learned gentleman had shewn at St. Omer's to the proposition, had not been expressed before he left London. Mr. Canning justified the omission of her Majesty's name in the Liturgy. Mr. Brougham, in reply to Mr. Canning, declared that her Majesty had no more knowledge of the negociation alluded to than the child unborn. It is very extraordinary that this disclaimer on the part of the learned counsel has never yet been accounted for.

At the instance of Mr. Wilberforce, the House of Commons adjourned until Friday (June 9,) in order to offer an opportunity of coming to some arrangement which might tend to the adjustment of those unhappy differences which (as the amiable mover observed) all wise and good men so deeply deplored. On Friday, Lord Castlereagh moved the further adjournment of the business until Monday. On Monday, as it was understood some negotiations were going forward, the consideration of the business was again delayed. Repeated postponements of these important proceedings were moved, and agreed to. On Monday, June 19th, the Earl of Liverpool announced the failure of the negociation, and laid upon the table a series of papers, the detail of the proceedings.

On the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, an address was presented to the Queen, strenuously recommending to her Majesty as much concession as the features of the case would admit, and entreating that as such "large advances had been made towards a negociation, her Majesty would yield to the earnest solicitude of the House of Commons, and forbear to press the adoption of those propositions on which any material difference of opinion rested." A slight amendment was proposed by Sir Francis Burdett, which was accordingly adopted; and Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Stuart Wortley, Sir Thomas Acland, and Mr. Banks, were then deputed to wait upon the Queen with the address. It was accordingly presented in due form; but her Majesty declining to comply with its prayer, all hopes of a negociation were entirely at an end.

On Monday, the 26th, in the Upper House, Lord Dacre presented a petition from her Majesty, protesting against any secret enquiry, and praying to be heard by her counsel at the bar of their Lordships' House that day, upon the subject matter of the petition.

Agreeably with this prayer, her Majesty's counsel, Messrs. Brougham and Denman, were called in, and respectively heard at great length in support of the petition. The meeting of the secret committee was then, upon the motion of Lord Liverpool, deferred till Wednesday.

On July 5th, another petition was presented from the Queen, stating, that she was perfectly ready, at that moment, to enter upon her defence, on the charges against her, as far as she could understand them; and she begged to remind their Lordships that, as it would be absolutely necessary for her to have certain witnesses for her future defence, she wished to have the nature of the charges against her distinctly stated in the present stage of the proceedings. And, furthermore, her Majesty prayed to be heard at their Lordships' bar that evening by her counsel.

After some discussion, the question for calling counsel was put, and negatived without a division.

The Earl of Liverpool then rose for the purpose of introducing a bill, (of which the following is a copy,) founded upon the report of the secret committee. His Lordship's opinion was, that were they to retrace their steps, there was no other mode of proceeding than that which had been adopted. It was at least doubtful whether an impeachment could be sustained; the case could not be tried in the ecclesiastical courts, nor in the courts of law: — a legislative proceeding, therefore, was all that remained; and, under all the circumstances of the case, he still thought it better that the proceedings should originate in that house, and that the bill should be brought forward on the report of a secret committee, rather than on the responsibility of ministers. It was not a question respecting an individual only; it was a great state question; and he did not feel that the course which had been adopted was in



any degree inconsistent with those principles of justice, which they had all an equal interest in maintaining. The essence of the charge was comprehended in the preamble of the bill. On the second reading, the time for which might be hereafter determined, it would be necessary to go to the proof. After some observations, in the hope that the accused might be able to disprove the charges, the bill was read by the clerk :—

“An act, entitled an act for depriving Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, Queen of Great Britain, of and from the style and title of Queen of these realms, and of and from the rights, prerogatives, and immunities, now belonging to her as Queen Consort.’

“Whereas, in the year 1814, her Majesty, Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, then Princess of Wales, and now Queen Consort of this realm, being at Milan, in Italy, engaged in her service, in a menial situation, one Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, a foreigner of low station, who had before served in a similar capacity.

“And whereas, after the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, had entered the service of her Royal Highness the said Princess of Wales, a most unbecoming and degrading intimacy commenced between her Royal Highness and the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami.

“And whereas her Royal Highness not only advanced the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, to a high station in her Royal Highness’s household, and received into her service many of his relations, some of them in inferior, and others in high and confidential, situations about her Royal Highness’s person, but bestowed upon him other great and extraordinary marks of favour and distinction; obtained for him orders of knighthood and titles of honor, and conferred upon him a pretended order of knighthood, which her Royal Highness had taken upon herself to institute without any just or lawful authority.

“And whereas her said Royal Highness, whilst the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, was in

her said service, further unmindful of her exalted rank and station, and of her duty to your Majesty, and wholly regardless of her own honor and character, conducted herself towards the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, and in other respects, both in public and private, in the various places and countries which her Royal Highness visited, with indecent and offensive familiarity and freedom, and carried on a licentious, disgraceful, and adulterous intercourse with the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, which continued for a long period of time during her Royal Highness's residence abroad, by which conduct of her said Royal Highness, great scandal and dishonor have been brought upon your Majesty's family and this kingdom. Therefore, to manifest our deep sense of such scandalous, disgraceful, and vicious conduct on the part of her said Majesty, by which she has violated the duty she owed to your Majesty, and has rendered herself unworthy of the exalted rank and station of Queen Consort of this realm; and to evince our just regard for the dignity of the Crown and the honor of the nation; we, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled, do hereby entreat your Majesty that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that her said Majesty, Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, from and after the passing of this act, shall be and is hereby deprived of the title of Queen, and of all the prerogatives, rights, privileges, and exemptions, appertaining to her as Queen Consort of this realm; and that her said Majesty shall, from and after the passing of this act, for ever be disabled and rendered incapable of using, exercising, and enjoying the same, or any of them; and moreover, that the marriage between his Majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth be and the same is hereby from henceforth for ever wholly dissolved, annulled, and made void, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, whatsoever.'

This bill having been read a first time, Lord Liverpool's motion that copies be sent to the Queen, the Queen's Attorney-general, and the King's Attorney-general, was agreed to. On the renewed motion of Lord Dacre, for calling in her Majesty's counsel, the Earl of Liverpool promised that, should a petition be presented the next day, the bill being then in progress, he would not object to it.

This bill was fixed to be read for the second time, on the 17th August, and the following regulations respecting the attendance of the peers were made :

“ That the House should be called over on Thursday the 17th August, at ten o'clock in the morning.

“ That the call should be enforced by the authority of their Lordships.

“ That no Peer should be absent on that day, nor any subsequent one during the proceedings, without leave from their Lordships.

“ That no Peer should vote by proxy.

“ That the Lord Chancellor should write letters to their Lordships, requiring their attendance in the manner above stated.”

On the 17th August, at twenty-five minutes to nine o'clock, the Lord Chancellor arrived at the House, and took his seat on the woolsack. The question for counsel to be called in, was soon put and carried. Mr. Brougham, (her Majesty's Attorney-general,) Mr. Denman, (her Solicitor-general,) Dr. Lushington and Messrs. Tindal and Wild, as counsel, and Mr. Vizard, as solicitor, appeared on behalf of the Queen. Mr. Gifford, (his Majesty's Attorney-general,) Sir John Copley, (his Solicitor-general,) Dr. Adam, and Mr. Park, as counsel, with Mr. Powel, as solicitor, attended on the part of the prosecution.

Preliminary discussions occupied the two first days. On the 19th, the Attorney-general, at the instance of the Lord Chancellor, proceeded to open his case. It is by no means our intention to enter into a particular detail of events, which must be yet so fresh in the recollection of the public.



The witnesses for the prosecution, exclusive of interpreters, and others examined merely to verify documents, were twenty-five in number. We subjoin a list of their names and occupations :

Theodore Majocchi, courier ; Gaetano Paturzo, owner of a polacre ; Vicenza Garguilo, master of a polacre. Francisco, cook ; Captains Pechell and Briggs ; Barbara Krantz ; Pretro Puchi, waiter at the Grand Hotel at Trieste ; Guiseppe Bianchi, door-keeper of the Grand Bretagne Inn, Venice ; Paolo Ragazzoni, mason at the Villa d'Este ; Gerolamo Mejani, superintendant of the gardens of the Princess of Wales ; Paolo Oggioni, undercook to the Princess ; Louisa Dumont, femme de chambre to the Princess ; Luigi Galdini, mason at the Villa d'Este ; Allesandro Finetti, ornamental painter at the Villa d'Este ; Domenico Brusa, mason at the Villa d'Este ; Antonio Bianchi, inhabitant of Como ; Giovanni Lucini, white-washer at Villa d'Este ; Carlo Rancatti, confectioner to the Princess ; Francesco Cassina, mason at the Villa d'Este ; Guiseppe Rastelli, superintendant to the stables of the Princess ; Guiseppe Galli, waiter at the Crown Inn, Barlisina ; Guiseppe Del Orto, baker to the Princess ; Guiseppe Gugiarì, boatman on the Lake of Como ; Guiseppe Sacchi, equerry and courier.

On the 21st, the Attorney-general concluded his statement of the charges against the Queen. Interpreters were sworn in on either side ; and the first witness, Theodore Majocchi, was called to the bar of the House to give in his evidence. Her Majesty entered the House during the examination of this witness, and, on seeing him, shrieked aloud, and retired somewhat precipitately, declaring she could not bear to look upon a person who had been guilty of such base ingratitude.

On September 7th, the deposition of the witnesses for the prosecution having been all given in, the Solicitor-general summed up the case for the bill.

On September the 9th, it was finally ordered, that three

weeks should be allowed to the counsel for the Queen, to prepare her defence. The House adjourned to Tuesday the 3d of October, when Mr. Brougham opened the defence with a long and eloquent address. On the 5th October, the examination of the witnesses for the defence commenced. They were as follows: James Leman, clerk to her Majesty's solicitor; Colonel Butler St. Leger, the Earl of Guilford, Lord Glenbervie, Lady Charlotte Lindsay, Lord Landoff, Honourable Keppel Craven, Sir William Gell, Sicard, her Major-Domo; Dr. Holland, Charles Mills, Esq., Colonel Theolini, Carlo Forti, Lieutenant Flynn, William Carrington, Lieutenant Hownam, Granville Sharpe, Santeno Lugiani, Giuseppe Carolini, Phillippo Pomoni, Pompilio Pomati, Antonio Maoini, Rumarigo Salvadovi, Colonel Oliviere Tomaso, and Carlo Vassali.

On Monday, November 6, the defence of the Queen ended, having occupied forty-nine days. The second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of twenty-eight votes; and on November 10, the third reading of it was carried by a majority of nine votes.

We must here, in common justice, explain the *ruse de guerre* (whether justifiable or not, it is not for us to decide) by which the list of the minority was on the third reading so materially swelled.

After the second reading, the bill went into a committee of the whole House. As several peers and bishops, from religious scruples, had given their votes for the second reading of the bill, upon the express understanding, that when the bill went into a committee, the divorce clause would be excluded, which would leave only the degradation of her Majesty from the rank of Queen, and being considered as the first female in the United Kingdoms, ministers, with the view of meeting the wishes of those peers, expressed a desire to exclude the divorce clause, in which they were not supported by many of the peers who had voted for the second reading. The opposition took advantage of the difference of opinion in those peers who voted for the second reading, and in direct con-

tradiction to their previously expressed opinions, urged the propriety of retaining the divorce clause in the bill, in the full expectation, that on the third reading of the bill, the majority would be so reduced in consequence of the religious scruples of a certain number of peers and bishops, who would vote against it, that government would be obliged to abandon the bill; and in the event of its being sent down to the House of Commons, it would be thrown out upon the same religious scruples as that of inexpediency.

On the 9th November a division took place on the exclusion of the divorce clause, when, in consequence of the Queen's friends voting for its retention, the motion was negatived by a majority of sixty-seven votes, thereby placing government in the minority. The consequence of this stratagem was, that on the 10th November, the fifty-third day of trial, when the bill was read for the third time, government lost the support of the twelve peers and bishops who had stated their objections to the divorce clause.

On the motion of Lord Liverpool, however, the question of the passing of the bill was ordered to be put on that day six months.

Against the abandonment of the bill, formal protests were entered into by various noblemen.

During the trial, her Majesty had several times visited the House of Lords, on all of which occasions she was received by the mob with the loudest demonstrations of applause. The news of her release from the bill of pains and penalties was welcomed with tumultuous approbation without the walls of the House; and partial illuminations throughout London, testified the zeal and enthusiasm of her partizans. In many instances, however, this apparent manifestation of respect was by no means voluntary; but for the first two or three nights after the abandonment of the bill, numerous bands of riotous and misguided persons pervaded the streets, for the purpose of demolishing the windows of those who were most obstinate in their refusal to illuminate. At length the ferment subsided, and order was once more restored.



Numerous addresses of congratulation were poured in upon her Majesty from all parts of the kingdom. Most of the public Companies visited the Queen in procession, carrying with them their respective addresses of congratulations. The answers to these ebullitions of attachment too often partook of the decided, and, not seldom, libellous character of the documents themselves. These were, of course, not written by her Majesty, but by some person in her employ. Their violence was such as to elicit the disapprobation even of those decidedly hostile to the measures of Government.

Early in the month of May last, it was generally believed that the immediate coronation of his Majesty had been determined on, and the Queen joining in this belief, although no official announcement had been made to that effect, wrote a letter to the Earl of Liverpool on the 5th, demanding to be present at the ceremony. To this she received a reply, apprising her, “ that his Majesty having determined that the Queen should form no part of the ceremonial of his coronation, it was his royal pleasure that the Queen should not attend the said ceremony.”

On the 9th of June the report of the renewed intention of his Majesty to be crowned, was confirmed by the issue of a second proclamation, appointing Thursday, the 19th of July, for the performance of the ceremony; and, on the same day, another proclamation was issued, appointing the Court of Claims, which again assembled, heard, and determined all the petitions and claims which had not been previously decided.

Her Majesty transmitted three memorials to the King, asserting her legal right to participate in the honours of the coronation, and praying that the necessary arrangements for that purpose should be taken, and communicated to her Majesty. They were all referred by the King to the Privy Council, who assembled at the Cockpit, Whitehall, to hear counsel in support of her Majesty's claim to be crowned.

The Council Chamber was greatly crowded. Among the

Privy Councillors were, the Dukes of York and Clarence; the Duke of Wellington; Lords Liverpool, Eldon, Harrowby, Westmoreland, Sidmouth, and Londonderry; one or two Bishops; several of the Judges; Mr. Tierney, Mr. Peel, &c. The King's Attorney and Solicitor General, Messrs. Brougham and Denman, and Dr. Lushington, who were in attendance, were called in. The clerk read the order of the Council, that her Majesty should be heard by counsel, in compliance with the prayer of one of her memorials, at 10 o'clock on that morning.

Mr. Brougham addressed their Lordships at considerable length, adducing many historical facts, to prove that the Queen of England possessed the legal and constitutional right of being crowned. He resumed his argument on the following day. After the learned gentleman had finished, Mr. Denman was next heard in support of the claim, and continued speaking until nearly two o'clock. The arguments of both her Majesty's advocates were confined to the usage; and they produced eight instances of joint coronations since the conquest, while they admitted, in the same period, five cases of kings crowned alone, with wives living at the time of the respective coronations. The Council assembled again a few days afterwards, when the Attorney General rose to address the Court, and contended that so far from ancient usage being in favour of the right, as maintained by her Majesty's counsel, all historical evidence gave a flat denial to the presumption. That there could be no right in the case he thought evident, because it had never been mentioned by any writer on the laws of the country, nor by any authority ever engaged in considering or discussing the privileges and immunities appertaining to *queens consort*. If, as had been contended, the coronation of a queen was an independent and substantive ceremony, it must have taken place in every instance, which was not the fact. The coronation of a king was accompanied by political acts, while no such acts belonged to a queen's coronation; every evidence

tended to prove that however usual it might have been to crown the queens of England, they had no right to demand the performance of that ceremony, which was plainly dependent on the will of the sovereign. The Attorney General having concluded his remarks, the Solicitor General followed, and spoke in opposition to the claim about three quarters of an hour. Mr. Brougham was heard in reply, and after a speech of two hours, strangers were excluded, and the Council deliberated a short time. They once more adjourned for three days.

They finally decided against the Queen's claim to be crowned. Against this decision her Majesty entered a solemn protest.

Prior to the publication of her Majesty's protest, she wrote to Lord Sidmouth, on the 11th of July, stating, "that she considered it necessary to inform his Lordship that it was her intention to be present at the coronation, and, therefore, demanded that a suitable place might be prepared for her reception." Lord Sidmouth's answer simply referred her Majesty to Lord Liverpool's reply to her letter of the 5th of May last, "that it was not his Majesty's pleasure to comply with the application contained in her Majesty's last letter."

On Monday, the 16th, Lord Hood wrote a letter to the Duke of Norfolk, as Earl Marshal of England, informing him that it was her Majesty's intention to be at Westminster Abbey at half past 8 o'clock on Thursday morning, and requesting him to have persons in attendance to conduct her to her seat. The Duke of Norfolk, in his answer, stated, that he was not acting in his character of Earl Marshal, and referred her Majesty to his deputy, Lord Howard of Effingham.

On the 19th, (July,) the morning of the coronation, every one was anxious to learn what course her Majesty would pursue. It was scarcely expected she would make her appearance. However, soon after 6 o'clock, her Majesty came in her royal



carriage of state, drawn by six horses, accompanied by another carriage, in which was Lord Hood.

In her Majesty's carriage sat Lady A. Hamilton and Lady Hood. Her Majesty had slept at her town house in South Audley-street, and had ordered her carriages by 6 o'clock.

The following account has been published by authority of her Majesty: —

“ Her Majesty set out from her house in South Audley-street, and proceeding through the Parks to Westminster Abbey, went to Dean's Yard, where her Majesty got out of her carriage, in expectation of being allowed to enter, but was refused at two doors of entrance; and her carriage having drawn off, her Majesty was obliged to wait in the passage till it was called back, when her Majesty proceeded towards Poet's Corner, and again got out of her carriage in Old [New] Palace-yard, and sought admittance by two temporary doors, which, upon her Majesty's approach, were closed in her face; after which, some of the people pointed out the opening to the platform. Upon ascending this, her Majesty was again obstructed by the police officers, till an officer (it is believed of the Guards) politely allowed her Majesty to cross the platform, and her Majesty walked from thence to Old Palace Yard, and entered first the passage to Cotton Garden; after which, her Majesty proceeded along the covered way to Poet's Corner, and when arrived at the door was refused admittance without tickets; upon which Lord Hood produced one, and was informed it would admit one person; upon which Lord Hood observed, he did not suppose the Queen required a ticket of admission; to which one of the persons appointed for the admission of the company, observed, he did not know the Queen, and positively forbade her Majesty from entering; and one of the Poor Knights of Windsor came up, and said there was no place for her Majesty. Thus, finding every effort to gain admittance proved ineffectual, her Majesty immediately returned to her carriage, and proceeded through Whitehall, Pall-mall, and St. James's-

street, Piccadilly, to her house, attended by an immense concourse of people. Although the different persons at the Abbey were all under orders to say they did not know her Majesty, it is to be observed that her Majesty came in the royal state carriage, and that the Guards, wherever she passed, presented arms."

On the 20th her Majesty wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which she informed him of her desire to be crowned some days after the King, and before the arrangements were done away with, so that there might be no additional expence. The Archbishop, in his answer, represented that he could take no part in the ceremony, except in consequence of orders from the Sovereign.

The Queen's disappointments and vexations were now drawing to a close. In less than a fortnight after the coronation of the King her Majesty was taken dangerously ill. Her complaint is said to have been an obstruction of the bowels, which was speedily followed by inflammatory symptoms. On Thursday, the 2d August, she was attended by three physicians, of whom the senior was Dr. Maton, so much distinguished by his skilful and zealous care of the late Duke of Kent. In the course of that day her Majesty was copiously bled; she passed a quiet night, but her symptoms remained the same. The following day she was immersed for about a quarter of an hour in a warm bath, which moderated the pain, but in other respects was unavailing; connected with the inflammation of the bowels, was a nausea at the stomach, which repelled both food and medicine. Another physician, Dr. Ainslie, was now called in, and her Majesty's legal advisers also attended to assist in the arrangement of her property and other legal matters; and her will was then drawn up.

She passed an indifferent night, but towards the morning of Saturday obtained some tranquil sleep, and in the course of the day was able to keep some gruel on her stomach. She slept great part of this day, which induced some observers to believe that an inward mortification had commenced. She,

however, continued tolerably easy, and passed that night better than the preceding one; but Sunday produced no apparent change in her symptoms. In the course of this day Dr. Baillie was sent for, by express, from Gloucestershire. During the night of Sunday she had some relief, and, for the first time, hopes began to be entertained that she had passed the crisis of her disorder. In the morning of Monday her state was certainly more favourable than it had been. At half past two o'clock on that day Dr. Baillie arrived, and immediately held a consultation with the four other physicians. Her Majesty had been bled with leeches, and found herself able to retain on her stomach a little arrowroot, and some medicine: she had also, at her own request, been raised from her bed, and was seated in an arm chair, when she was first seen by Dr. Baillie. Still her Majesty was extremely weak and feeble from her long and acute sufferings, and the small portion of sustenance that she had been able to take; and when she spoke (which she did, relative to the disposal of her property, and other matters), she was very faint, and felt it necessary to be revived from time to time by a smelling bottle. The hopes that were entertained during the latter part of Monday, however, were rapidly weakened in the course of the night, and had entirely vanished on Tuesday morning, the 7th, when it was evident that her Majesty, after a sleepless night, had suffered a relapse, or rather, that the favourable appearances of the day had been merely delusive.

At this time the Queen herself gave up all hope, and declared she could not survive the day. About noon she complained of violent pains in the abdomen, which were shortly followed by convulsion: a strong opiate medicine was now administered, which allayed the pain for a moment, but produced for an hour or two a disposition to doze. About three o'clock the pains returned, attended with the most alarming symptoms. Every means that skill and attention could devise were now employed by the physicians; but it was



all in vain. At four o'clock her Majesty became rapidly worse; her respiration was difficult: about eight she sunk into a state of entire stupor, and having lain for two hours and twenty-five minutes in that state, at length breathed her last.

The following is a copy of her Majesty's will:

" This is the last will and testament of me, Caroline, Queen-Consort of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. I revoke all former wills.

" I constitute and appoint Stephen Lushington, Doctor of Laws, and Thomas Wilde, Esq. Barrister at Law, trustees and executors of this my will.

" In execution of all powers given me by the will of my late mother, Augusta, Duchess of Brunswick-Lunenburgh, I appoint, limit, give, devise, and bequeath to my said trustees, all my right, title, and interest under the said will, and also all the rest of my property, real and personal, debts and effects, of whatsoever nature or kind soever, and wheresoever situate, upon trust to receive and collect the same; and, when collected, convert into money, and invest it at their discretion in the funds of the United Kingdom, or otherwise: and, upon further trust, to pay the principal of the whole of the said trust property to William Austin, who has been long under my protection, on his attaining the age of 21 years: and, in the mean time, to pay the interest and proceeds of the same, or so much thereof as to them may seem meet, towards the maintenance and education of the said William Austin. And I do declare that my said trustees and executors shall not be chargeable in respect of the default of each other, or of any agent employed by them, or either of them, but only for their own respective receipts, acts, and wilful defaults. I also give and bequeath to my said executors, to be disposed of according to their will and pleasure, all and every my documents, manuscripts, papers, writings, and memoranda, wheresoever being at the time of my death.

" CAROLINE, R.

“ Signed, sealed, and published, this 3d day of August, in the year 1821, at Brandenburgh-house, in the presence of

“ H. BROUGHAM,            HENRY HOLLAND, M. D.

“ THOMAS DENMAN,        HOOD.

“ This is a codicil to my will, dated this 3d day of August :

“ I give all my clothes here and in Italy to Marietta Brunn. I direct that a particular box, by me described, be sealed with my seal, and delivered to Mr. Obichini, of Colman-street, merchant : and I acknowledge that I owe him 4,300*l.* I wish that Government would pay the 15,000*l.*, the price of my house in South Audley-street. I desire to be buried in Brunswick. I leave my coach to Stephen Lushington, my executor ; my landaulet to John Hieronymous.

“ CAROLINE, R.

“ Witnesses, HOOD,

T. DENMAN,

“ H. BROUGHAM,

HENRY HOLLAND, M. D.

“ This is a codicil to my last will :

“ I give to John Hieronymus and Marietta Brunn all my bed and table linen, which has already been used. I give to Louis Bischi the sum of 1000*l.* and an annuity of 150*l.* per annum, payable half yearly. I give the large picture of myself and late daughter to the Cardinal Albano. The half-length picture of myself to Lady Ann Hamilton. I give the picture of myself, which is a copy of that given to the city of London, to my executor, Stephen Lushington. There are two pictures remaining, of which I bequeath to the Marquis Antaldi that which he shall choose, and the remaining one to William Austin. I give to the Viscount and Viscountess Hood 500*l.* each. I have already given to John Hieronymus one carriage ; I also give him the other open carriage. I declare that my interest under my mother's will is given to William Austin, as a specific legacy. I desire and direct that my body be not opened, and that three days after my death it be carried to Brunswick for interment, and that the inscription

upon my coffin be — “ Here lies Caroline of Brunswick, the injured Queen of England.

“ CAROLINE, R.

“ Signed in the presence of HENRY HOLLAND, M. D.

“ *August 5, 1821.*

“ A codicil to my last will :

“ I give and bequeath to William Austin all my plate and household furniture at Brandenburgh-house, and also all unused linen.

“ I direct my executors to make application to his Majesty’s Government to pay to them such sum of money as at the time of my decease I may have paid, or which they may be called upon to pay for the purchase of my house in South Audley-street; and I give and bequeath such sum of money, as my said executors shall procure and obtain in that respect, unto them my said executors, in trust for William Austin, according to the provisions of my will : such sum to be considered a specific legacy. And in case the Government shall refuse to repay such sum, I direct my executors to sell my interest in the said house, and also the furniture and things therein. And I give and direct the proceeds thereof to be paid and applied to and for the use of the said William Austin in like manner, as a specific legacy ; but in case the Government shall repay the purchase money of the said house, in that case, the proceeds which may be realised by the sale are to fall into the general residue of my estate. Dated 7th day of August, 1821.

“ CAROLINE, R.

“ Witness, HENRY U. THOMPSON, Kensington.”

It forms no part of our object to enter into a detail of the disgraceful scenes which attended the removal of the remains of her Majesty to Harwich, whence it was, in compliance with her own especial request, to be conveyed to Brunswick, for interment. The procession set out from Brandenburgh-



house early on the morning of the 14th August, in the following order :

### PROCESSION.

Twelve horse soldiers (Blues) two and two.

1st carriage.

Page. { Mourning coach and six, containing the servants of her Majesty's } Page.  
Chamberlain, and Longuez, the black servant.

2d carriage.

Page. { Mourning coach and six, containing Mr. Wilde's male and } Page.  
female servants, and a servant of Sir George Nayler.

3d carriage.

Page. { Mourning coach and six, containing James Thomas, Esq. of the } Page.  
Lord Chamberlain's-office, with a gentleman in the same de-  
partment.

Two soldiers on horseback.

His Majesty's eight Deputy Marshals, two and two, in state, on horseback.

Mr. Cubb.	Mr. Anderson.	Mr. Shelton.	Mr. Ryer.
Mr. Knapman.	Mr. Jolly.	Mr. Birch.	Mr. Gilbert.

Twelve Pages on horseback, two and two, with black cloaks and hatbands.

Her late Majesty's state carriage, with six horses, containing Sir George Nayler, in his state dress, as Clarencieux King of Arms, accompanied by Mr. Woods, the Herald. Sir G. carried the Crown and Cushion from the state apartment to the door, and having got into the carriage, they were placed on his lap by the Herald, who afterwards took a seat by his side, with their backs towards the horses. The cushion was about two feet long, and one foot wide — black velvet, edged with gold fringe, and a large gold tassel at each of the four corners. It was an imperial crown which was carried upon the cushion.

Two of her Majesty's state servants behind the carriages.

Squadron of horse, two and two, attended by their commanding officer.

Hearse with eight black horses.

Page.

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Each side of the hearse was decorated with an escutcheon. Postillions in black rode upon the two leading horses. At the end of the hearse was an imperial crown with the letters C. R. The horses in the hearse and the coaches also were decorated with large black feathers.

Four soldiers, two and two.

Trumpeter.

Eighteen soldiers, two and two.

Page. { 4th Mourning coach and six, in which was alone Lord Hood, } Page.  
her Majesty's Chamberlain.

Page. { 5th Mourning coach and six, containing Lady Hood and Lady } Page.  
Hamilton.

Page. { 6th Mourning coach and six, containing Dr. Lushington and } Page.  
his lady.

Page. 7th Mourning coach and six, prepared for Mr. and Mrs. Wilde. Page.

Page. { 8th Mourning coach and six, containing Mr. Alderman Wood } Page.  
and Count Vassali.

Page. { 9th Mourning coach and six, containing Captain Hesse and Mr. } Page.  
Wilson, (son of Sir Robert,) her late Majesty's equerries,  
with the Rev. Mr. Wood, her Majesty's chaplain, and Mr.  
William Austin.

Page. { 10th Mourning coach and six, containing Lieuts. Hownam and } Page.  
Flynn, with two other gentlemen belonging to the household.

Page. { 11th Mourning coach and six contained Mr. Hieronymus, her } Page.  
Majesty's steward, Mariette Brunn (De Mont's sister), Lady  
Hood's female servant, and Lady A. Hamilton's.

Page. { 12th Mourning coach and six contained her Majesty's three } Page.  
pages, Mr. Melburn, Mr. Adolphus, and Mr. Nicolini.

13th Mourning coach contained Mr. Bayley, the undertaker, and two gentlemen,  
who were to accompany the body to Brunswick.

A carriage with a servant, containing luggage belonging to the different persons  
in the cavalcade.

The carriages of different gentlemen, the friends of her late Majesty.

The Committees of Hammersmith and London, two and two.

We shall not take upon ourselves the record of the disgraceful outrages by which the course of the cavalcade was so frequently impeded, before it left the vicinity of London. Suffice it to mention that, at Cumberland-gate the route of the procession was interrupted by the populace, who were extremely exasperated at the instructions issued by Government for it to pass down the Edgware-road and through Islington, instead of through the city, where vast crowds had assembled to pay their last tribute of respect to her Majesty's memory.

At the bottom of Oxford-street, the soldiers accompanying the funeral, were attacked by the mob in the most ferocious manner. Several were unhorsed by brickbats and missiles of

every description, which were constantly showered upon them; many were severely wounded, and, after bearing with exemplary patience and fortitude these repeated assaults, (the riot-act having been read,) the order was given to fire. The first discharge of carbines was over the heads of the people; but this not having the desired effect, it was found necessary to fire amongst the crowd; when one man was killed, and another mortally wounded. Barricades had been thrown across the road in such a manner as to render the transit of the procession, by its destined route, impossible. The authorities conducting it, therefore, abandoned their original intention, and made a detour into the Strand, whence they proceeded through the city and Whitechapel to Rufford, and finally to Harwich, where they arrived at half past eleven o'clock on the Thursday.

The Glasgow frigate, commanded by Captain Doyle, was appointed to receive and convey the last remains of her Majesty to Brunswick. It was an extraordinary coincidence, that Captain Doyle was the very midshipman who had handed the rope to her Majesty on her ascending the man of war that brought her to England.\*

On the evening of the 24th her Majesty's remains reached Brunswick, and (as it had been previously arranged) were immediately carried to the place of interment. The horses were then removed from the hearse, and the coffin was deposited in a magnificent open car, while about a hundred Brunswickers, well dressed, and having all the appearance of the respectable classes of society, placed themselves in front in the most regular and tranquil order.

The whole way from the outer to the inner barrier, a space

\* The following was the arrangement for the different frigates which were to carry her late Majesty's household to Cuxhaven: — Glasgow frigate, 50 guns, Captain Doyle, having on board the royal corpse, Lord and Lady Hood, Lady Hamilton, Mr. Austin, Dr. and Mrs. Lushington, Mr. and Mrs. Wilde. — Wye, 28 guns, Captain Fisher, his wife and family. — Tyne, 28 ditto, Captain White, Chevalier Vassali, Captain Hesse, and Mr. Wilson. — Garnet, 18 guns, Rev. Mr. Wood on board. — Rosario, 10 guns, Captain Simpson, Lieut. Hownam. — Alderman Wood sailed in one of the regular packets for Cuxhaven.



of little less than a mile in length, and about the breadth of Blackfriar's-road, was lined with a dense mass of people, not merely from Brunswick, but from the neighbouring towns and villages : some families had followed the funeral *cortège* from Celle, and others even from Hamburgh. The front lines of this immense assemblage carried torches ; and from the double rows of willows on each side of the road, were suspended lamps of various colours, green, red, and yellow. In the distance were seen the illuminated houses of Brunswick, adding by the fantastic variety of their architecture to the picturesque beauty of the scene, and by their undecayed antiquity, reminding man of the nothingness of his existence, in comparison even with the durability of the commonest works of his own hands. The procession moved slowly towards the town, and as the clock struck twelve reached the inner barrier. Here the mourners descended from the carriages, and the whole *cortège* proceeded on foot, with the exception of Sir George Nayler, who kept his state in the first carriage.

From the entrance of the town to the cathedral church the distance is about a mile, and the slow pace at which the procession moved, together with the various streets through which it passed, gave the whole population an opportunity of witnessing the grand spectacle without much inconvenience, and with scarcely any danger. To the people, however, was due the praise of the good order that prevailed. The only arrangement made by the authorities — so great and so just was their confidence in the good disposition of the people — was an escort of about twenty constables. The Brunswick cavalry, that, to the amount of about 200, accompanied the procession, marched slowly by the sides, as state attendants, but took no part in directing the movements of the immense multitude about them, and guided their well-managed chargers through a countless crowd, in narrow streets, without alarming, much less hurting, a single individual. Outside the barriers, where the space was very extensive, women as well as men were seen in all parts of the assemblage ; but in the streets of

Brunswick not a woman was to be seen. The men alone were in the streets, the women were at the windows of the houses; and there was not a house in any street through which the procession passed which had not every window crowded with spectators of the female sex, all dressed in black, and all expressing, by their anxious attention, the deep interest which they took in the solemn ceremony passing before them. In this manner the procession moved on to the church, the glare of a thousand torches making every part of it visible to the multitude.

At the church door the minister and municipality received the body: the coffin was lifted from the car, and carried by sixteen serjeants of the Brunswick cavalry, while sixteen majors bore the pall. The appearance of the church was solemn and imposing. Though a building of no striking beauty when seen by day-light, its lofty columns and long aisles hung with black, had by night an appearance of melancholy grandeur. Owing to orders, no service, not even a funeral chant, was to be performed. As the Queen had died abroad, it was to be considered that these rites had been already performed, and that the ceremony at Brunswick was merely depositing the body of the deceased in the family vault; a ceremony which was always performed without funeral service, as in the case of the Duke of Brunswick, the father of the late Queen.

As the corpse passed along the aisle into the place of sepulture, a hundred young ladies of the first families in Brunswick, dressed in white, stood on each side, and scattered flowers before it. In a few seconds the coffin and the mourners had all arrived in the family vault of the illustrious house of Brunswick. The entire space is very large, and already contains fifty-seven coffins of different branches of that ancient family. A portion, about seven yards square, was separated from the rest by hangings of black cloth, and was illuminated with wax lights. In the middle of this section stood a platform, raised about two feet from the ground: on one side stood the coffin of the gallant father of the Queen, at the foot was the coffin

of her gallant brother; both heroes slain in battle when fighting against the tyranny of Buonaparte; and here, in this appropriate spot, was deposited the remains of Caroline of Brunswick.

When the mourners were all arranged in the vault, the minister of the cathedral church stood at the head of the coffin, and uttered a prayer in the German language. The funeral was over about two o'clock.



## No. III.

## SIR HOME RIGGS POPHAM,

A REAR-ADMIRAL OF THE RED; GROOM OF THE BEDCHAMBER  
TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, K.C.B.  
K. M. F.R.S.

Few individuals, of the present age, have ever experienced greater or more sudden vicissitudes of fortune than Sir Home Popham: at one time we find him oppressed with poverty, at another, rolling in wealth; at one time under the ban and interdict of the admiralty; at another, and that too, at no great distance, employed by the Lords' Commissioners, on the most important, and delicate services.

Home Popham was born at Gibraltar, during his father's Consulship at Tetuan, in Morocco, on the 12th of October, 1762. His family originally came from Bandon, near Cork.

Mr. Popham's father was, we believe, several times married. His mother, who unfortunately died in childbirth with him, had a very numerous progeny, of whom he was the one-and-twentieth child! His father is said to have had no less than forty-four children by his several wives.

To his second brother, the late Mr. Stephen Popham, of Madras, a man of great talent in the law, was the subject of this memoir indebted for his education. When very young, he was sent to Westminster school; and, at the early age of thirteen, on account of the extraordinary progress which he had made in his studies, (a progress far beyond his years,) he was readily admitted into the University of Cambridge.

Mr. Popham had made one or two short trips to sea, but did not finally embrace the naval service until after he had been twelve months at Cambridge. He commenced his career,

as a seaman, under the auspices of the late Commodore Thompson, who acted the part of father, instructor, and protector to his boyish years. As the *élève* of such an officer, we are by no means surprised at the figure he has since made.

We have reason to believe that he was first employed on the home station; and that, on the 13th of June, 1778, in the defeat of Langara's squadron, he was in the *Hyæna*, a repeating frigate. Mr. Popham remained with Commodore Thompson until the beginning of 1782, when the *Hyæna* was paid off.

Commodore Thompson being appointed to command the squadron stationed on the coast of Africa, Mr. Popham, who was about the same period promoted to the rank of lieutenant, accompanied him thither as a maritime surveyor. On his patron's death, which took place on board the *Grampus*, January 17th, 1788, Lieutenant Popham returned to England.

About this period Lord Howe, who presided at the Admiralty, excited lieutenants in the navy to engage in maritime adventures, to acquire professional experience; and Lieutenant Popham, encouraged by his friends, sailed with other naval contemporaries for India, having obtained permission from the Lords of the Admiralty, a precaution by which his rank was preserved, but not his half-pay.

Upon his arrival at Bengal, he was appointed, at the special recommendation of Lord Cornwallis, one of a committee, sent in 1788, to survey New Harbour, in the river Hoogly, which had been represented as a proper place for a dock-yard. Having executed this service in a manner satisfactory to the government, Lieutenant Popham returned to Europe.

In 1791, we find him commanding a country ship, in India; in which, being bound from Bengal to Bombay, during a very tempestuous monsoon, he was obliged to bear up for the Straits of Malacca, and anchor at Pulo Penang, now called Prince of Wales' Island. This event led to the discovery and survey of the southern passage, or outlet, which induced him to think that the great *desideratum* of a marine yard might be

effectually obtained there. A chart was accordingly engraved and published, with the leave of the government, and at the sole expence of a public-spirited individual, (Anthony Lambert, Esq.) then sheriff of Calcutta, impelled by no other view than the good of the service.

Lieutenant Popham obtained a letter of thanks from the government, for a measure, which, it was said, “ was likely to prove beneficial to the commerce of the Company, by removing the objections which precluded the commanders of their ships from touching at Prince of Wales’ Island late in the season, when the strong winds from the north and north-west occasioned a delay of several days in working round the north end of the island to go to the southward; and it will also,” it was added, “ encourage ships to touch at the island on their return from China, which few were able to accomplish before the southern channel was ascertained.”

The “ letter of thanks” was not the only compensation which Lieutenant Popham received for this service; as a piece of plate was at the same time presented him in the name of the Governor-general in council, with a suitable inscription. The Court of Directors, on receiving the intelligence, also recommended him in very strong terms to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty; which, amongst other instances, evinced the good effects of Lord Howe’s suggestion.

Lieutenant Popham’s survey of the South Channel appears to have afforded him employment for some time. The company’s ship, the *Lord Macartney*, as well as the *Hampshire*, the *Bridgewater*, and the *Carron*, the last of which was piloted by the *Discoverer*, were all enabled to save considerable time through his means; and several commanders, viz. the Captains Lawrie, Reid, and McIntosh, in a letter dated from Canton, November 13. 1792, signified their wish to present him with a piece of plate in their own names, and those of others sailing from Bombay, ‘ being highly sensible of the advantage they might derive from the southern channel leading from Prince of Wales’ Island to sea, which you have now fully established,’ say they, ‘ by carrying through all the honourable company’s



ships of this season, and most of them with a working wind.' Beacons were first placed for the direction of mariners; and buoys, nine feet by six, afterwards stationed for this purpose.

Hitherto Lieutenant Popham seems to have been extremely fortunate. He had acted, for some years, as a free trader, in the East, when he was appointed to the command of the *Etrusco*, an Imperial East Indiaman. This vessel, on returning from Bengal to Ostend, was seized and made prize of by an English frigate\*, a considerable portion of the property on board being supposed to belong to British subjects. Her commander, Lieutenant Popham, was a considerable loser upon this occasion; but, perhaps, to an event so apparently unfortunate, is he indebted for his subsequent advancement and success in the regular service of his country.

With a mind ever active, and alive to the interests of Britain, it was impossible for Mr. Popham to regard with indifference the horrors of the French revolution, which were then displaying themselves in Holland and Flanders. In the early part of the war he was attached, with a party of seamen under his orders, to the army commanded by his Royal Highness the Duke of York, in Flanders and Holland, where he greatly distinguished himself on many and various services, and gave the first proof of what may be expected from naval officers of science, even on shore. It was a new kind of service to a seaman, and he had often to create the means of acting, yet he evinced a promptitude of decision, and rapidity of execution, on trying occasions, that gained him great applause from the veterans of the army, and by which he acquired the esteem and patronage of the Prince under whom he served: for his gallant conduct at this period, he was, by the recommendation of his Royal Highness and the General Officers, promoted to the rank of Post Captain.

The first service on which Mr. Popham was employed, under the Duke of York, was to assist in the defence of Newport, against the French. At that time he conceived the idea

\* Captain Mark Robinson.

of arming the fishermen of Flanders in defence of their own towns; and, having received orders for that purpose from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, through Sir James Murray Pulteney, then Adjutant-General, he formed a body of them into a regular corps for the defence of Nieuport. He was entrusted with the command of them himself; and to their utility, Sir Charles (now Earl) Grey, and other officers, bore the most ample testimony.

In the month of November 1794, the late General Picquet having captured Sluys, Creveccœur, Venloo, and Maestricht, advanced with a powerful army, and laid siege to Nimègue. Here he experienced considerable resistance: for this city was not only defended by a numerous garrison, but the Duke of York was enabled at any time to throw in supplies from his camp at Arnheim. As it appeared evident that the place could not be taken until all intercourse with the English troops was cut off, two strong batteries were immediately erected on the right and left of the line of defence, and these were so effectually served by the enemy's artillery, that they at length destroyed one of the boats that supported the bridge of communication. In consequence of this, the place must have surrendered immediately had it not been for the exertions of Lieutenant Popham, who, having hastened thither from Ostend, immediately repaired the damage, and thus for a while protracted the fate of the town.

It was, we believe, for this particular service, that on the 4th of April 1795, Mr. Popham was promoted to the rank of Post Captain.

In the course of the same year we find him acting in the capacity of naval agent for the English army on the continent; and it was under his immediate inspection that the British troops, which had been serving in Holland, were embarked, and escorted to England by the *Dædalus* and *Amphion* frigates.

Captain Popham's attention seems to have been closely occupied on the possibility of an invasion of this country by the French, and on the means of successfully resisting such an

attempt. His sentiments on these subjects having been detailed, in letters to officers and men of considerable rank, his plan for organizing a corps of sea fencibles was considered; and, having been approved by government, was carried into effect in the spring of 1798. It will be recollected that, agreeably to the regulations adopted, the English coast was divided into districts, over each of which a Post Captain, with a certain number of commanders and lieutenants, was appointed. The men of whom the sea fencibles were composed, received protections from the impress, on the conditions, that, in garrisons and land batteries, they should learn to exercise the great guns; and that, where those did not exist, they should be exercised in the use of the pike, so as to be able to oppose an invading enemy, either afloat or on shore. Captain Popham, as a reward for his industry and attention, was appointed to command that company of the fencibles which occupied the district from Beachy Head to Deal inclusive; an appointment which he held till the year 1800.

We must now revert to the early part of 1798; at which period government, having received intelligence that the enemy had collected a great number of gun-boats, and transport schuyts, at Flushing, with the view of sending them to Dunkirk and Ostend, by the Bruges canal, formed a plan for destroying the basin, gates, and sluices. From his intimate acquaintance with the topography of maritime Flanders, where he had for some time resided, and from his well-established reputation for enterprise, Captain Popham was fixed upon for conducting the expedition. Accordingly, a squadron, of which Captain Popham had the command, was ordered to assemble at Margate, and there to take on board a body of about 2000 troops, under the orders of Major-General Coote.

This flotilla sailed from the coast of Kent on the 14th of May, but did not appear off Ostend until the morning of the 19th, at which time it cast anchor. The wind soon after shifted to the west, and became so boisterous that Captain Popham and the General entered into a consultation upon the



propriety of standing out to sea, and deferring the debarkation till a more favourable opportunity. At this moment, a vessel was brought alongside of Captain Popham, which had been cut out from the Lighthouse battery by the *Vigilant*; the report from which was, that the force in the garrisons of Ostend, Nieuport, and Bruges, was but slight. On the receipt of this intelligence General Coote proposed to land immediately, even if the surf, which broke with much violence on the shore, should make his retreat doubtful. To this spirited proposal Captain Popham acceded, and instantly ordered the troops to be landed, without waiting for the regular order of debarkation. Such was the alacrity displayed upon this occasion, that many of them actually reached the shore, under protection of the gun-boats, before they were discovered. It was one o'clock in the morning when the squadron first came to an anchor; by four, a considerable number of the troops was landed; and it was not until a quarter past, that the enemy's batteries opened on the ships. The fire was immediately returned, in a most spirited manner, by Captain Mortlock of the *Wolverene*, Lieutenant Edmonds of the *Asp*, and Lieutenant Norman of the *Biter*. From the precision with which the *Hecla* and *Tartarus* bombs threw their shells, the town was several times on fire, and the ships in the basin were much damaged. As a feint to cover the operations of bringing up the materials, and of destroying the sluices, a summons was sent to the commandant of Ostend to surrender the town and its dependencies to his Majesty's forces; to which he returned an answer, that the council of war had unanimously resolved not to surrender the place until they should have been buried under its ruins.

At length, by five o'clock, the whole of the troops were landed, together with a body of sailors, and all the necessary implements for destroying the sluices, covered by the gun-boats.

The fire from the batteries having much damaged the vessels opposed to them, Captain Popham called them off, and directed the *Dart*, *Harpy*, and *Biter*, to take their stations;

but, it being low water, they were incapable of getting sufficiently near to produce much effect. At half-past nine the *Minerva* transport, which had parted company, joined; but, from the circumstance of the surf running very high, it was impossible for the troops which she had on board to participate in the military operations.

The party which had landed marched directly to the sluice-gates; and, at twenty minutes past ten, a great explosion took place, which indicated their total destruction.

The canal, which it was the object of the assailants to destroy, was a grand national work, which had cost the States of Bruges an immense sum of money, and had taken the labour of five years to complete. The sluice-gates were indeed demolished, and several boats were burnt, but the explosion failed in its intended extent. That failure, however, was by no means attributable to Captain Popham; his activity and skill, throughout the affair, reflected on him the highest credit.

When, in 1799, a treaty had been entered into between Great Britain and Russia, by which the latter was to furnish a certain number of ships and men for the projected expedition against Holland, Capt. Popham was sent to Cronstadt, in the *Nile* lugger, in the capacity of a British commissary, to superintend and facilitate the embarkation of the Russian troops.

The Emperor Paul having expressed a wish that the *Nile* lugger should be brought up close to the palace of Peterhoff, for his own immediate inspection, Captain Popham repaired thither, and was almost immediately honoured with an imperial visit. The satisfaction which the emperor felt at his reception, and at the manœuvring of the lugger, in which he enjoyed a fine sail, induced him to repeat his visit on the following day, accompanied by the empress, the prince and princesses, and a large retinue. On the first occasion, it may be presumed that Captain Popham was fully prepared to receive his royal guest, and that he was enabled to treat him

accordingly; but, on the second visit, the imperial party's entertainment consisted only of some ship-beef and biscuit, and 'God save the King!' sung by British tars.

The satisfaction which Captain Popham afforded to their imperial majesties was not rewarded with empty compliments. Amongst other distinguishing marks of royal favour, the emperor, in person, presented him with a very elegant gold snuffbox, set with diamonds, and a large picture of the donor. The empress also sent him a diamond ring of considerable value.

About this time the Emperor Paul had assumed the title of Grand Master of the order of St. John of Jerusalem; which enabled him, as a mark of his particular esteem, to confer upon Captain Popham the cross of Malta. This honor was afterwards confirmed to him by his Britannic Majesty. It is said he was the only knight of the order whose promotion was formally recognised at the court of St. James's.

After visiting several of the Russian ports, and travelling 600 miles within the polar circle, upon a secret mission of importance, Sir Home took leave of their imperial majesties, in order to return to England, where, after a boisterous passage, he arrived safely.

Worn out by incessant fatigue, and assailed by illness, he sought a short repose in his domestic residence at Weybridge, whither he retired; but, no sooner had returning health invigorated his frame, than he engaged, with renewed ardour, in the active service of his country. In the same winter (1739), he went over to Holland; and when the Duke of York took the command, and advanced into the country, he had the good fortune of rendering great and essential service to the combined English and Russian armies. Jointly with Captain Godfrey, of the navy, Sir Home was entrusted with the command of three gun-boats, on the canal of Alkmaar. By the skillful management of this little flotilla, the flanks of the British were protected, and the advancing columns of the Gallo-Batavian army so much annoyed, that, in his public



dispatches, the Duke of York expressed himself highly indebted to Sir Home Popham and Captain Godfrey for their assistance.

Sir Home Popham's numerous services had now rendered him so conspicuous that some pecuniary reward from Government was deemed requisite; and accordingly, on the 26th of December, 1799, he had an annual pension of 500*l.* settled upon him, payable out of the fund arising from the duties of 4½ per cent. in Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, to be continued to his widow.

In the course of the year 1800 he was employed in the equipment of an important expedition; and, on the 5th of December in that year, he sailed for the East Indies with a squadron of four sail of the line.

One of the immediate objects of this expedition, was to convey a detachment of troops from the Cape of Good Hope up the Red Sea. As it had been determined by the English cabinet to drive the French from Egypt, it was wisely resolved, at the same time, to make use of all the resources presented by our foreign dominions, for the purpose of giving every possible assistance to Sir Ralph Abercrombie, in an attempt at once so perilous and important. Asia accordingly poured forth her motley-coloured inhabitants, while a detachment of 1200 men was ordered from the Cape of Good Hope, which had been recently wrested from the Dutch. On Sir Home's arrival at the latter place, the necessary preparations were made for the embarkation of the troops; and he sailed from thence on the 28th of February, 1801, having on board the two flank companies and one battalion of the 61st, the dismounted troopers of the 8th regiment of cavalry, together with a detachment of artillery; the remainder of the forces having been prevented from accompanying him by the prevalence of an infectious disorder.

On the 7th of May this little squadron, after a very dilatory passage, had reached Mocha; and on its arrival at Jeddah, the Commadore was happy to find the division of troops

from India, under the command of General Baird, there. As it was of the utmost importance that this officer should arrive as soon as possible at the place of his destination, he was prevailed upon to accept of the accommodation of the Romney for himself and staff.

On the 7th of June, having reached Cosier, measures were immediately taken for disembarking the troops and stores. After this, the subject of the present memoir, at the express instance of the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian army, intended to have accompanied the detachment across the desert with a body of seamen, and even to have marched as far as Cairo; but he was prevented by orders from Admiral Blanket. He, however, proved eminently serviceable, by supplying small casks for the carriage of the water, in lieu of the mus-sacks which had been sent from India, and were now found defective. He also appears to have attended to the interests both of the Government and of the India Company, by a reduction of the enormous expence of tonnage, in respect to such vessels as had become unnecessary.

General Baird having marched for the Nile on the 30th of June, the Commodore left Cosier on the 2d of July, and visited Juddah and Mocha; and as the secret committee of the East India Company, at the request of Mr. Dundas, who then presided at the Board of Controul, had invested him with a political appointment, in order to enable him to treat with the Arabian Princes, he entered into a correspondence with the Sheriffe of Mecca, and several of the country powers; while Mirza Mehendy Ally Khawn, the native political resident from the Bombay Government at Juddah, proposed to dethrone his Holiness, under pretence of being an usurper.

Soon after this, instead of repairing to Bombay for stores and provisions, Captain Sir Home Popham deemed it more eligible to proceed to Calcutta, in order to have an interview with the Governor-General in person; which was afterwards converted into a charge against him. Accordingly, after a passage of seventeen days from the Red Sea, the Romney ar-

rived in Balasore Roads, and proceeded to Mayapore, where his ship was refitted.

In consequence of an invitation from the Governor-General, (the Marquis Wellesley,) he immediately visited him at Calcutta; at his special request he afterwards accompanied his Lordship to Oude, and, in the course of the journey, pointed out, both in conversation and by memorials, the advantages that would accrue from a commercial intercourse between India and Arabia; which, among other benefits, would ensure such a connexion with the coffee country, as promised an absolute monopoly of that article.

On the other hand, his Excellency had planned an expedition in the nature of a *coup de main*, which was to be undertaken by the troops about to be embarked in the Red Sea. Of this, as well as the arrangement of every thing relative to the transports and supplies for the army in Egypt, the whole direction was to have been conferred on Sir Home; but in consequence of the intervention of some unexpected occurrences, the orders for this purpose were countermanded. This was announced to him in a very handsome letter, dated Burhampore, September 1, 1801; in which the Governor-General stated his reason for abandoning the enterprise.

On the 14th of November, 1801, Sir Home accordingly repaired on board the *Romney*, with an intention of proceeding to the Red Sea immediately; but he was called back by an express from the Vice-President in Council, in consequence of a dispatch from England, intimating a strong suspicion that the French had sent an expedition against the Portuguese settlement of Macao, with a view of intercepting the ships employed in the China trade.

The Commodore immediately suggested the necessity of sending an engineer thither. The works were supposed to be out of repair; and as some difficulty existed respecting the convoy of the transports, with a body of troops for its defence, he offered his services on this occasion, and also insisted on the propriety of attempting to gain possession of the Mauritius.



The necessary dispositions for the former measures were accordingly made; but having arrived at Prince of Wales' Island on the 20th December, 1802, he there found Admiral Rainier, who directed the *Arrogant* and the *Orpheus* to proceed to Macao with the *Indiamen*; and, as his squadron was scantily supplied at that moment, part of the *Romney's* provisions and stores were taken out, to enable the ships to perform this service.

On the 7th of January, 1803, we find the Commodore in the Madras Roads, whence he sailed once more for the Red Sea, and in the month of March anchored in the harbour of Suez.

Having been nominated Ambassador to the States of Arabia by the Governor-General, the Commodore now entered into a regular correspondence with Houszer Mehmet Pacha, Vizier of three tails, Viceroy of Egitto, then residing at Grand Cairo, respecting an interchange of commodities with the Company's settlements in Asia, across the desert, on paying certain stipulated duties; but when he addressed himself to the Sheriffe, who had just poisoned the Turkish Pacha at Mecca, on his second visit to him, he was informed by his Vizier that an interview could not take place; and that if he had any thing to communicate, he might write to him at Taaf, a district famous for its gardens, "as his Holiness was there eating fruit, and it was too much trouble to come to Juddah."

Soon after this Sir Home dispatched Mr. Elliot, secretary to the embassy, together with Dr. Pringle and Lieutenant Lamb, on a mission to the Imam at Sunna, with a proper escort; while the Sultan of Aden deputed his son to wait on the Commodore at Mocha, and press an establishment in his dominions.

About this time also he himself accepted the invitation of the Pacha of Egypt to visit Cairo, on which occasion his Highness sent an officer of his household, with a troop of dromedaries and many led horses, to Suez; and they agreed to terms highly favourable to the British nation, respecting the *tariff* of customs to be paid in the dominions of the

Sublime Porte on the coasts of the Red Sea, so as, among other advantages, to secure a complete monopoly of the coffee trade. He also, with the same views, made a journey to Tais, in the course of which he appears to have experienced many indignities, and was exposed to considerable danger, in consequence of the perfidy of the natives, particularly of the Dola of Mocha, who afterwards attempted to apologize for his conduct.

In the mean time preparations were made for re-embarking the Company's troops; which being at length happily effected, Commodore Popham sailed for England, with the full approbation of the Governor-General of Bengal, one instance only excepted, relative to the political mission to the Arab States.

On Sir Home Popham's arrival early in 1803, he found a new ministry and a new Board of Admiralty; while, in consequence of the prospect of a new war, the *Romney* was detained some time in the Downs on the impress service, after which she proceeded to Sheerness, where the crew was employed in fitting out ships newly commissioned.

Soon after this her captain received a note from Commissioner Hope, desiring him to call at his house, where he found Sir William Rule, Surveyor of the navy, who appeared to have travelled to Chatham during the preceding night. These gentlemen immediately showed him a warrant under Admiralty orders, commanding them to proceed on board the *Romney*, and, after examining into her state, as well as into the repairs done, to make a variety of other inquiries.

The result of these inquiries, which necessarily occupied a considerable portion of time, was, that a report was laid before the Admiralty Board, from the Commissioners of the Navy Board, relative to what were considered as the enormous charges made by Sir Home Popham, for the repairs of those ships (particularly of the *Romney*), which had been under his command in the Indian Seas.

In the interim, Sir Home Popham, who had been absent from England during the general election of 1802, became

desirous of a seat in parliament, and was at length returned for the borough of Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight.

On the Commissioners' report respecting Sir Home Popham, the public opinion was considerably raised as to the innocence or culpability of the parties concerned.

In 1804 a sudden change of administration brought Sir Home into employment. Through the patronage of the late Viscount Melville, he was appointed to the command of the *Antelope* of 50 guns. He was afterwards appointed to the superintendence of a scheme for destroying a fleet, by means never before heard of. The experiment was ludicrously termed the *Catamaran Expedition*; and two vessels were very effectually destroyed by it, off Boulogne, in 1804. An attack on a larger scale was afterwards attempted at Fort Rouge, which disappointed public expectation.

In 1805 Sir Home Popham commanded the naval part of an expedition against the Cape of Good Hope; which capitulated January 8th, 1806.

Sir Home Popham having prevailed on Sir David Baird to grant him a small body of troops under General Beresford, steered for the Rio Plata, and arrived at the mouth of that river in the beginning of June. Having got to Buenos Ayres by the help of rafts and boats, (for the bridge had been burnt by the enemy,) General Beresford entered that city on the 27th, which had been previously abandoned by the viceroy, who fled to Cordova.

When intelligence reached government of Sir Home's unauthorised departure from the Cape, and meditated invasion of South America, orders were instantly dispatched to recall him, and put a stop to his expedition. These orders were too late to prevent his enterprise; and when the news of his success arrived, the strong objections to his plan were drowned in the universal joy at the fortunate result of his operations.

The settlement, however, was soon again in the hands of the enemy. The Spaniards had been taken by surprise, and beaten by a handful of men, because attacked where they were



unprepared for resistance ; but no sooner had they recovered from their panic, and discovered the smallness of the number of their opponents, than, ashamed of their defeat, they began to concert measures to expel their invaders. Emissaries from Buenos Ayres excited the country people to arms, and an insurrection was organised in the heart of the city, under the eye of the English commander-in-chief, which seems to have escaped his vigilance, till it had arrived at maturity, and was ripe for action. Liniers, a French colonel in the Spanish service, and on his parole, crossed the river from Colonia, in a fog, August 4th, unobserved by the English cruisers, and landed at Couchas, above Buenos Ayres, bringing with him about 1000 men from Monte Video and Sacramento. Encouraged by this reinforcement, the armed levies from the country, which had been defeated by General Beresford in a sally, advanced again to the city and summoned the castle to surrender. The whole inhabitants of the town were now in arms, and the danger appeared so imminent, that the English had determined to evacuate the place and retire to their ships ; but they were prevented by the state of the weather ; and after a desperate action on the 12th, in the streets and great square of the town, in which they were attacked with incredible fury, and severely annoyed by a destructive fire from the windows and balconies of the houses, they were compelled to capitulate.

The loss of the British army in the action of the 12th, amounted to 48 killed, 107 wounded, and 9 missing ; making a total of 165. The enemy confessed to have lost about 700 men killed and wounded.

Buenos Ayres is the capital of one of the richest and most extensive provinces of South America. The climate is very healthy.

The force employed on shore consisted of the detachment of his Majesty's troops from the Cape, and one obtained from St. Helena, with the marine battalion, under the orders of Captain William King of the *Diadem*, which was composed of the marines of the squadron, augmented by the incorpor-

ation of some seamen, and three companies of royal blues, who had been regularly trained for that duty, and dressed in an appropriate uniform.

The money received in consequence of an agreement on the 28th June, and the sum brought from and near Luxam, embarked on board the *Narcissus*, Captain Ross Donnelly, amounted to 1,086,208 dollars: there remained in the treasury 205,115 dollars.

The capitulation secured to the British army the honours of war, and to the merchants their property; an exchange of prisoners was also effected by it, the whole for the whole. The high and independent language in which the articles of the capitulation were couched, and the terms dictated by General Beresford to an officer at the head of myriads of people, did him infinite honour.

Sir Home was on board his ship when the city was retaken, and continued to blockade the river, without being able to render any assistance to the troops. On the arrival of a fresh force, October 12th, he recommenced offensive operations, and made an attempt upon Monte Video, without success. As affairs assumed a worse appearance, he left that station, and was superseded in his command by Sir Charles Sterling. His conduct was laid before a court-martial in March, 1807, where he made a most magnanimous defence, affirming that his crime was no more than that it had been his fate to reduce the capitals of two of the four great divisions of the world; alluding to Buenos Ayres and the Cape. The court, however, determined that his conduct was "reprehensible in a British officer, and leading to a subversion of all military discipline, as well as subordination to government;" and he received, in consequence, a severe, but merited, reprimand.

An expedition having been fitted out for the purpose of obtaining possession of the Danish navy, Sir Home was selected as captain of the fleet under Admiral Gambier, by whom, on the submission of the Danes, he was appointed to receive the Danish ships and vessels of war, with

the stores in the arsenal. In his official letter, Admiral Gambier thus speaks of him: — “ I feel it my duty to make a particular acknowledgment of the aid I have derived from Sir Home Popham, captain of the fleet, whose prompt resources, and complete knowledge of his profession, especially of that branch which is connected with the operations of an army, qualify him in a particular manner for the arduous and various duties with which he has been charged.”

On the 8th of January, 1808, Sir Home Popham and Sir John Stuart were presented with the elegant swords, voted to them by the corporation of London. They were first presented, at Merchant Taylors' Hall, with the freedom of that company; after which they proceeded to Guildhall, and were presented to the Lord Mayor. They were accompanied by Lord Gambier and Sir Edward Hamilton.

In 1809, Sir Home accompanied the expedition that had been fitted for the occupation of Flushing, and the destruction of the French ships of war, arsenals, and dock-yards, in the Scheldt. The command of the army was entrusted to the Earl of Chatham, and the naval part of the expedition to Sir Richard Strachan. On the 28th and 29th July the armament sailed in two divisions. The Rear-Admiral, aware of Sir Home's local knowledge of the insular navigation, entrusted him to lead the fleet into the Rompoot, where they were all anchored in security. The army being landed, and the bombs and gun-vessels directed to proceed up the Veere Gat; Sir Home (who, at the request of Lord Chatham, had remained on shore with his Lordship) received permission from Sir Richard to employ the bombs, &c. as the service might require. He accordingly began on the morning of the 31st July to cannonade Camvere, which had been summoned, but held out. The fire of the gun-boats was exceedingly well directed, and did much damage to the town. Three of the gun-boats were sunk. In the afternoon it blew fresh, and as the strength of the tide prevented the bombs from acting, the flotilla fell back, preserving a menacing position.

At night, some rockets being thrown, from the dyke on



shore, at the nearest battery of Camvere, the town surrendered. After the performance of this service, Sir Home was dispatched with several sloops, brigs, and a rocket-ship, together with a light flotilla, up the West Scheldt; to sound and buoy the channels of that river, to enable the larger ships to advance, for the purpose of putting into execution the ulterior objects of the expedition; which service he executed with his usual judgment and correctness, driving the enemy above Lillo, where their ships and gun-brigs had taken up a strong position. On the 15th August Flushing surrendered, after a severe bombardment. In the meantime a very numerous French army assembled in the neighbourhood of Antwerp; the forts in the Scheldt were well manned; and every preparation was made for opposing the passage of both the army and the navy. Preparations were also made for conveying the ships so high up the river as to be beyond the reach of either naval or military operations, in case of a successful attempt to force a passage.

All idea of pushing up the Scheldt being abandoned, Lord Chatham, with the greater part of the troops, returned to England on the 14th of September. The island of Walcheren was evacuated on the 23d of December following.

During the Peninsula war, Sir Home Popham commanded the *Venerable* of 74 guns, and was actively employed on the north-west coast of Spain, harassing the French forces. When Lord Moira went out as Governor-General of Bengal, Sir Home was appointed to convey him to India, in the *Stirling Castle* of 74 guns. He was subsequently nominated a Colonel of Marines.

Sir Home was advanced to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the White on the 4th of June, 1814, and shortly afterwards hoisted his flag as Commander-in-chief, in the River Thames. In 1819, the Rear-Admiral accepted the command on the Jamaica station, and proceeded thither in the *Sybille* frigate, commanded by his eldest son, Captain William Popham. He was promoted to rank of Rear-Admiral of the Red on 12th August, 1819.

During Sir Home Popham's stay at Jamaica, he lost a son, aged 17 or 18, and his second daughter: they fell victims to the climate.

From this period the services of Sir Home Popham have been less before the public, or rather, the demolition of the naval power of France afforded no opportunity for their display. He devoted himself to other pursuits, particularly an improved telegraph, constructed, in 1815, along the coast, from Bridport to the Land's End in Cornwall. Subsequently, he accepted the command of the West India station, where he vainly attempted to reconcile Christophe, King of Hayti and Boyer, and whence he returned in 1820, weakened in his constitution, and mourning the loss of a daughter, whom he did not long survive. He closed a life, as brilliant as it was serviceable, at Cheltenham on the 11th of September. His will was proved in the Prerogative Court, Doctors' Commons, September 23d; it was dated on the 18th of July, 1809, when he was Captain of the Venerable, and about to proceed on a particular service; which he states himself to have arranged. The whole property is left, for life, to Lady Popham, and at her death, to be equally divided among their children. The executors having renounced their right, a grant of administration was made to her Ladyship. The personal property was sworn under 18,000*l*.

*His Works were as follow :*

1. Concise Statement of Facts relative to the Treatment experienced by him since his Return from the Red Sea; 8vo., 1805.
2. A Description of Prince of Wales' Island; 8vo. 1805.
3. Rules and Regulations to be observed in His Majesty's Ships; 4to. 1805.

## No. IV.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARL OF SHEFFIELD,  
 BARON OF DUNAMORE, AND BARON OF ROSCOMMON,  
 IN IRELAND.

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*Quem te Deus esse jussit.*

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JOHN BAKER HOLROYD, Earl of Sheffield, the friend and associate of Gibbon, and the editor of an admirable edition of his miscellaneous works, was the second son of Isaac Holroyd, Esq., by Dorothea, youngest daughter of Daniel Butler, Esq. of Penn, in the county of Bucks.

The family of the Holroyds were originally settled in Yorkshire, where it flourished as early as the reign of Edward I. The name is very common on the borders of Lancashire, and has given local appellations to one or two small towns in that county. By his mother's side, the subject of this memoir inherited a considerable fortune; and, upon her decease in 1777, he added her maiden name of Baker to his own *patronymic*.

Mr. Holroyd, after the usual preliminary education, entered the army, and obtained the command of a troop of light horse, called the Royal Foresters, under the Marquis of Granby, as early as 1760. The short duration of the war precluded all opportunity of promotion; consequently Mr. Holroyd obtained no higher rank than that of captain. On the ratification of peace, three years afterwards, he passed over to the continent, and travelled through the principal states in Europe. It was during this absence from England, that he commenced an acquaintance, at Lausanne, with the celebrated Historian of the Roman Empire, who thus alludes



to it in the interesting Auto-biography, prefixed to his Miscellaneous Works. "In my second visit to Lausanne, (1764,) among the crowd of my English companions, I knew and esteemed Mr. Holroyd, (now Lord Sheffield,) and our mutual attachment was renewed and fortified in the subsequent stages of our Italian journey. Our lives are in the power of chance, and a slight variation on either side, in time or place, might have deprived me of a friend, whose activity in the ardour of youth, was always prompted by a benevolent heart, and directed by a strong understanding."\*

In 1767, Captain Holroyd, having returned to his native country, united himself to Miss Abigail Way, the only daughter of a gentleman of considerable opulence. His marriage with this lady, of whom Gibbon entertained a very exalted opinion, is thus jocosely alluded to, in one of the historian's letters to his friend, dated Bereton, April 29, 1767. "I happened to-night to stumble upon a very odd piece of intelligence in the St. James's Chronicle; it related to the marriage of a certain Monsieur *Olroy*, (the name was so spelt in the newspapers,) formerly Captain of Hussars. I do not know how it came into my head, that this Captain of Hussars was not unknown to me, and that he might possibly be an acquaintance of yours. If I am not mistaken in my conjecture, pray give my compliments to him, and tell him from me, that I am at least as well pleased he is married, as if I were so myself. Assure him, however, that though as a philosopher, I may prefer celibacy, yet as a politician, I think it highly proper that the species should be propagated; assure him, even that I am convinced, that if celibacy be exposed to fewer miseries, marriage can alone promise real happiness, since domestic enjoyments are the source of every good. May such happiness as is bestowed on few, be given to him; the transient blessings of beauty, and the more durable ones of fortune and good sense, and an amiable disposition."

About this time a good deal of discussion had arisen

\* Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works, vol. i. p. 169.

throughout the country, as to the paramount importance of agriculture, as tending to form the true greatness and stability of a nation. The policy and propriety of encouraging agricultural pursuits was loudly insisted upon by the continental *economists*. A similar theory began to be adopted in England, which was ably supported and warmly countenanced by Mr. Holroyd, who was at this juncture living in elegant retirement at Sheffield Place\*, in the county of Sussex. Unsatisfied with the cultivation and embellishment of his own extensive domain, he took a considerable tract of land, and became a farmer upon a very extended scale. In the ardent prosecution of these very useful pursuits, he improved in many and important respects, the system of agriculture, then in general adoption; and might be said in some measure to have ameliorated the condition of the husbandman by the introduction of new and less laborious modes of cultivation.

Such were the laudable employments of his leisure hours, acting at the same time as magistrate, in which capacity he was as remarkable for the minuteness with which he investigated the offence brought under his consideration, as for the lenity with which he visited it upon the head of the unfortunate culprit.

In 1772, Mr. Holroyd had the misfortune to lose his infant son, on which occasion Gibbon addressed him a letter of the most friendly condolence. To assist in dissipating the severe regret which must have arisen out of this loss, Mr. Holroyd and his lady made a tour through Ireland and Scotland the ensuing summer. They returned ere long, to their agreeable retirement at Sheffield Place, where they remained until 1778, when the war (so long foreseen by our skilful politicians)

\* His lordship's principal estate at Sheffield Place, is very considerable, and gives a name to the hundred. The house is large and elegant, and situated in an extensive park, midway between East Grinstead and Lewes. The first foundation is not known, but it has undergone great alterations, especially within these few years. It is in the best Gothic style, and in a battlemented frieze, which goes round the house, are introduced the arms of the possessors of the lordship or manor of Sheffield, from Edward the Conqueror's time; when, as appears from Domesday Book, it belonged to Earl Godwin.

between this country and several of the European powers, broke out to disturb the repose which had so universally prevailed. Louis XVI., taking advantage of the disgrace and discomfiture attendant on the capitulation of Saratoga, declared against us.

On this occasion the militia was called out, and that of Sussex embodied under the command of the Duke of Richmond, when the subject of this memoir accepted of a majority. In the course of the ensuing year the most disastrous events recorded in our history posterior to the revolution, took place, namely, the undoubted appearance of the combined fleets of France and Spain off our coasts, which struck terror and dismay throughout the whole empire. On this occasion Major Holroyd proposed to government, to raise and equip, at his own expense, a legion of hussars and light infantry. His offer was gratefully accepted by the executive power, and as *commandant*, he was of course permitted to choose his own officers. This body of cavalry was called the Sussex, or 22d Regiment of Light Dragoons. Colonel Holroyd possessed great wealth and influence in the county; he had served in the Light Horse, and was therefore well fitted to take the command of this newly raised force. We accordingly find that the Sussex regiment of light dragoons was completed, and mustered in the course of a few weeks. Although it was never called into active service, it was in all respects fitted for that purpose, had the exigency of the times rendered its employment necessary.

Colonel Holroyd, however, found means to distinguish himself during the riots that prevailed in London in 1780; on which occasion he exhibited equal courage and ability: but we are in some degree anticipating our narrative.

In 1780, Colonel Holroyd, having expressed an inclination to be returned to parliament, had the good fortune to be elected, without any opposition, for Coventry. He did not possess any property in that place, or its vicinity: his election was in all probability the consequence of a temporary residence



there, and an occasional connection with the inhabitants: that city having been for some time the head-quarters of the Sussex regiment of Light Dragoons.

Colonel Holroyd was not accustomed to speak often in the House of Commons. In the course of the session after which he was chosen, a circumstance is said to have occurred in the House, which sufficiently marked the decisive character of our new member. Lord George Gordon, whose conduct at this period can only be conceived by those who possess an adequate idea of what fanaticism and superstition are capable of achieving, was accustomed to leave his seat, and go out to the people assembled in the lobby, to inform them who was then speaking, and what was at that moment transacting in the House. Colonel Holroyd, fearing lest such inflammatory conduct should lead to more dangerous extremities, took hold of his Lordship, forcibly, and, after using some menaces, remarked, "that heretofore he had imputed his behaviour to *madness* alone; but that now he was fully convinced, that there was more *malice* than *madness* in it." He at the same time advised him, that in case the safety of any of the members of that House was endangered, he should consider him as the instigator, and inflict immediate vengeance with his own hand.

During the riots occasioned by Lord George Gordon, Colonel Holroyd was particularly active. Gibbon, alluding to these disturbances, in a letter to his aunt, remarks, "Colonel Horoyd was all last night in Holborn, among the flames, and with the Northumberland militia, and performed very bold and able service."

On December 10th, 1780, Colonel Holroyd experienced a signal mark of the royal favour. His Majesty was pleased to advance him to the peerage of Ireland, by the name, style, and title of Lord Sheffield, Baron of Dunamore,\* in the county of Meath. And by letters from St. James's, 17th Sep-

\* Dunamore, or Dunaghlmore, a manor and estate in the county of Meath, which was purchased by his Lordship's ancestor about a century ago, from the Earl of Denbigh and Desmond.

tember, 1783, his Majesty was pleased further to create him Baron Sheffield of Roscommon, extending the honor in failure of heirs male on his issue female.

At the general election the preceding September, through the flagitious conduct of the corporation of Coventry, and the sheriffs, Lord Sheffield was thrown out in his attempt to represent a second time that borough in parliament. Not content with preventing his Lordship's re-election, the corporation of Coventry would suffer no return whatever to be made. This business was at length brought before the proper court of judicature, that of the House of Commons. The present Marquis of Hertford (then Lord Beauchamp) distinguished himself at this juncture by his zeal in behalf of what he conceived to be the elective franchises of the subject; and by the vote of parliament, the sheriffs of Coventry were committed as prisoners to Newgate, and a new election ordered to take place, which commenced in November following.

Such however was the rancour, animosity, and injustice of the corporation, that notwithstanding there was a great majority in favour of Messrs. Holroyd and Yeo, Sir Thomas Halifax and Mr. Rogers were returned. A new petition to parliament was the consequence, and much fresh altercation took place, but Messrs. Holroyd and Yeo triumphed, and were declared duly and properly elected. Gibbon, commenting in a letter to his aunt, upon Lord Sheffield's conduct in parliamentary concerns, observes, "Holroyd pursues those affairs with eager and persevering zeal, and has the pleasure of undertaking more business than any three men could possibly execute." \*

Towards the close of the American war, Lord Sheffield began to study the nature of the commerce, revenues, and resources of this country in a more particular manner than he had done heretofore. He also became, for the first time, an author; and, in a publication on the trade of the United States of America, gave abundant proofs of his industry to inves-

\* Gibbon's *Miscellaneous Works*, vol. ii. p. 240.

tigate, and sagacity to develope, the interests of Great Britain. He strenuously advocated the maintenance of the navigation act, and the extension of the carrying trade of this country; and when Mr. Pitt, "in his youthful ardour (to use his Lordship's own words) for grasping the advantages of the American commerce, brought in a bill for the provisional establishment and regulation of trade and intercourse between the subjects of Great Britain and those of the United States of America;" Lord S. saw the dangerous tendency of the measure, and opposed it with becoming firmness. "Had it passed into a law," adds he, "it would have affected our most essential interests in every branch of commerce, and in every part of the world, it would have deprived of their efficacy our navigation laws, and undermined the naval power of Britain."

His Lordship's speeches and writings on this subject attracted a good deal of attention; and the city of Glasgow expressed its gratitude and esteem by presenting him with its civic honors, having unanimously chosen him a member of their corporation "in testimony of the just sense entertained of his zeal for, and attention to, the interests of the commerce of Great Britain, as well as for the public spirited and well-timed exertions manifested by his Lordship; by which the navigation laws and the carrying trade, so essential to the prosperity and power of Britain, have been preserved at a moment when they were in the most imminent danger of being lost to the country."

From Gibbon's correspondence, we learn that on November 1. 1781, Lord Sheffield was ordered to Canterbury and Deal to suppress some disturbances in these places. From this circumstance it would appear that government availed itself of the services of his Lordship whenever an occasion offered. He seems to have acted both in his civil and military capacity with equal promptness, zeal, and ability.

The account of the visit of Lord Sheffield and his family to Gibbon, at Lausanne, we shall quote in his Lordship's own words:

"A visit from myself and my family to Mr. Gibbon, at Lausanne, had been for some time in agitation. This long-



promised excursion took place in the month of June, 1791, and occasioned a considerable cessation of our correspondence. I landed at Dieppe immediately after the unfortunate Louis XVI. was brought captive to Paris. During my stay in that capital, I had an opportunity of seeing the extraordinary ferment of men's minds, both in the National Assembly and in private societies, and also in my passage through France to Lausanne, where I recalled to my memory the interesting scenes I had witnessed by frequent conversations with my deceased friend. I might have wished to record his opinions on the subject of the French revolution, if he had not expressed them so well in his letters. He seemed to suppose, as some of his letters hint, that I had a tendency to the new French opinions: never was suspicion more unfounded; nor could it have been admitted into Mr. Gibbon's mind, but that his extreme friendship for me, and his utter abhorrence of these notions, made him anxious and jealous, even to an excess, that I should not entertain them. He was, however, soon undeceived; he found that I was as fully averse to them as himself. I had from the first expressed an opinion, that such a change as was aimed at in France, would derange all the regular governments in Europe, hazard the internal quiet and dearest interests of this country, and probably end in bringing on mankind a much greater portion of misery than the most sanguine reformer had ever promised to himself or others to produce of benefit, by the visionary schemes of liberty and equality with which the ignorant and vulgar were misled and abused.

“ Mr. Gibbon, at first, like many others, seemed pleased with the prospect of the reform of inveterate abuses; but he very soon discovered the mischief which was intended, the imbecility with which concessions were made, and the ruin which must arise from the want of resolution or conduct in the administration of France. He lived to reprobate, in the strongest terms possible, the folly of the first reformers, and the something worse than extravagance and ferocity of their successors. He saw the wild and mischievous tendency of these pretended

reformers, who, while they professed nothing but amendment, really meant destruction to all social order; and so strongly was his opinion fixed as to the danger of hasty innovation, that he became a warm and zealous advocate of every sort of old establishment, which he marked in various ways, sometimes rather ludicrously; and I recollect in a circle where French affairs were the topic, and some Portuguese present, he, seemingly with seriousness, argued in favour of the inquisition at Lisbon, and said he would not, at the present moment, give up even that old establishment.

“ It may not be quite uninteresting to the reader to know that I found Mr. Gibbon at Lausanne, in possession of an excellent house; the view from which, and from the terrace, was so uncommonly beautiful, that even his own pen could with difficulty have described the scene which it commanded. This prospect comprehended every thing vast and magnificent which could be furnished by the finest mountains among the Alps; the most extensive view of the Lake of Geneva, with a beautifully varied and cultivated country, adorned by numerous villas and picturesque buildings, intermixed with beautiful masses of stately trees. Here my friend received us with an hospitality and kindness which I can never forget. The best apartments of the house were appropriated to our use: the choicest society of the place was sought for, to enliven our visit, and render every day of it cheerful and agreeable. It was impossible for any man to be more esteemed and admired than Mr. Gibbon was at Lausanne. The preference he had given to that place, in adopting it for a residence, rather than his own country, was felt and acknowledged by all the inhabitants; and he may have been said almost to have given the law to a set of as willing subjects as ever man presided over. In return for the deference shown to him, he mixed, without affectation, in all the society — I mean all the best society — that Lausanne afforded; he could, indeed, command it, and was, perhaps, for that reason, more partial to it; for he often declared that he liked society, more as a relaxation from study than as expecting to derive from it

amusement or instruction; that to books he looked for improvement, not to living persons. But this I considered partly as an answer to my expressions of wonder, that a man who might choose the most various, and most generally improved society in the world, namely, in England, should prefer the very limited circle of Lausanne, which he never deserted but for an occasional visit to M. and Madame Necker. It must not, however, be understood that in choosing Lausanne for his home, he was insensible to the value of a residence in England: he was not in possession of an income which corresponded with his notions of ease and comfort in his own country.

“ During the stay I made with him, he renewed his intercourse with the principal French who were at Lausanne; of whom there happened to be a considerable number distinguished for rank or talents; many, indeed, respectable for both. I was not absent from my friend’s house, except during a short excursion that we made together to M. Necker’s, at Copet, and a tour to Geneva, Chamouni, over the Col de Balme to Martigny, St. Maurice, and round the lake by Vevay to Lausanne. In the social and singularly pleasant months that I passed with Mr. Gibbon, he enjoyed his usual cheerfulness, with good health. After he left England in 1788, he had had a severe attack of an *erisipelas*, which, at last, settled in one of his legs, and left something of a dropsical tendency; for, at this time, I first perceived a considerable degree of swelling about the ankle.

“ In the beginning of October I quitted this delightful residence, and some time after my return to England, our correspondence recommenced.”\*

We have had less hesitation in quoting thus at length Lord Sheffield’s account of the opinions of Gibbon, because, whilst discussing the sentiments, he frequently admits us to an insight of his own.

\* Gibbon’s *Miscellaneous Works*, v. i. p. 331.



Lord Sheffield always expressed a marked disapprobation of Mr. Fox's measures. The first time his Lordship spoke in the House of Commons, he animadverted, with some severity, upon 'the turbulent ambition,' and 'popular declamatory eloquence' of that great statesman; and after listening with attention to one of his speeches, which extorted admiration from both sides of the House, he censured 'the excessive praises' that were generally bestowed on Mr. Fox's oratory, and declared that, from the specimen he then heard, he was "astonished that the House could be so fascinated with it."\*

As he had met with so much disagreeable, and, in fact, unjust opposition, in the city of Coventry, Lord Sheffield directed his attention towards another part of the kingdom. Having so ably discussed the subject of trade, he aspired to represent in Parliament the third commercial city of the empire, and accordingly canvassed Bristol. Besides the support of several of the most respectable merchants of that city, he procured the co-operation and zealous interference in his behalf, of Dean Tucker, who was, like himself, a commercial politician. It was almost entirely to the indefatigable exertions of this valuable ally that he was indebted for his election, as the Dean possessed a powerful interest, arising out of his station, fortune, and talents, in the city of Bristol. Indeed he is reported to have been so exceedingly popular among his new constituents, that they defrayed the whole of the expenses of his election. If this were actually the case, his indefatigable opposition to the abolition of the slave trade was, in all probability, the cause of the important civilities he received at their hands. It is much to be deplored that a nobleman of Lord Sheffield's high worth and talents should have been induced to give his unequivocal support to the

\* An allusion to Lord Sheffield's manifest disapprobation of Fox and his measures occurs in a letter from the historian to his Lordship, dated Lausanne, January 6. 1793: — "We all admire the generous spirit with which you damned the (parliamentary) assassins. I hope your objection of all future connexion with Fox, was not quite so peremptory as it is stated in the French papers. Let him do what he will, I must love the dog." *Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works*, 1. 392.

advocates for the foulest and most odious species of traffic that ever disgraced the annals of any civilized country. We regret that we cannot contemplate this era of his Lordship's political life without feelings of disapprobation and concern: we would, however, willingly believe that his Lordship was actuated in his measures on this question, rather by his views of benefitting the commerce of the country, than by a wish to identify himself with the individual interests of his constituents — the flesh-merchants of the city of Bristol.

When the abolition of the slave trade was attempted in 1792, and both Fox and Pitt supported the measure, his Lordship reprobated the strong language made use of by these gentlemen, and took an opportunity in the course of the debate to attempt a justification of the character of the notorious Captain Kimber, then in Newgate, whom his Lordship represented as a cruelly injured man. In the event, however, Lord Sheffield assented to the proposition of putting a stop to the importation of negroes into the colonies; but the acquiescence in this measure was given in so reluctant a manner, that it looked more like a compromise than a cheerful compliance with a just and necessary suggestion. But we will present our readers with a minute of his Lordship's speech on the occasion:

“ Lord Sheffield deprecated the dangerous and mischievous consequences resulting from the frequent agitation of this question. Some gentlemen urged their theories to the very brink of ruin; but as Mr. Dundas's measures (those leading to a gradual abolition, which has never been effected) seemed calculated to arrest the mischief, by effectually serving the country, they demanded and should receive his warmest support. He was exceedingly concerned that, in his opinion, the abolition of the slave trade could never be carried into effect by the proposition of last year, unless we were to shut up the ports in the West Indies; and it was too well known to need a comment, what destruction to our trade that would occasion. The act for shutting up the port of Boston was indeed a precedent; but it was such a one as it would be more prudent to avoid than to follow. It was true, we had a right to say, the slave trade, as far as it regarded us, should be

abolished : but were we prepared to say the ports should not be supplied by other means ? We had a right to do what we pleased with the property which we derived to ourselves from this trade ; but we had no right to injure others. If we were constitutionally empowered to forbid the importation of *live flesh*, we might equally forbid that of *dead flesh*, and thus completely starve our colonies. We had a right, it was true, to enjoin all owners and captains of British ships not to take on board an African slave ; but what right had we to dictate to the planters, and say, they should not supply themselves with slaves, either by purchasing them from other nations, or importing them in their own ships, and under the authority of their own laws ? He wished the cessation of the trade by removing the necessity of importing negroes. We should then be consistent as well as humane. We should remember that our colonies were entitled to the protection of our colonial law. He begged it to be understood, that those who were the warmest friends to the abolition of the trade, acted unjustifiably, when they charged their opponents with inhumanity : the fact was, they saw the danger of these discussions ; they saw that these discussions might lead the negroes to place themselves in a situation they were not fit for, because proceedings here were misrepresented to them. Insurrections might ensue, and if murder was the consequence, he could not help saying, that our modern declaimers would, in fact, be the cause of these murders.

“ He felt himself entitled to complain, on another account, in the course of these proceedings ; for, of all violent reformers of the traffic, upon what they called the principles of *justice and humanity*, not one of them had the candour to come forward and say, that those whose property was to be sacrificed in this pursuit should have any compensation whatever for their losses. Much stress had been laid on the number of petitions presented for the abolition of the slave trade. Upon this he felt himself entitled also to observe, that parliament should not listen to these petitions, nor indulge the wishes of those who presented them : for the mode in which they had been obtained, rendered them totally unworthy of attention in a grave and enlightened assembly. They had been obtained by artifice, influence, and deception ; by a mode truly unconstitutional ; and he did not consider this interference of a certain class of persons, who had no particular interest to support, much better than the *Jacobins* in France.

“ The truth was, that if the trade should be abolished at all, considerable time should be allowed for that purpose ; a short period would by no means answer even the desire of the abolitionists



themselves. He conceived, that the earliest time for the abolition was the year 1800."

A few days after his Lordship had put forth these opinions, he asserted that he was not to be captivated by "a splendid abuse of words;" that he "was confirmed in his former opinion," and that "the miserable half measure of an abolition at the end of three years, was the most contemptible of all, not having the glory, if it deserved that appellation, of an *immediate* abolition, nor the merit of a *gradual* abolition."

In the debate upon the new forest bill, Lord Sheffield \* discussed the question in a very able and impartial manner. He insisted upon the impolicy of copyholds, as far as the cultivation of timber trees is concerned, it being the interest of the copyholder to suffer no tree to grow beyond a certain standard. "He wished," he said, "that copyholders might be timber free; and that heriots and arbitrary fines should be compensated: one checked improvement in the breed of cattle, and the other in respect to building and agriculture. "Nothing could be more odious," he added, "than the barbarous custom of lords of manors hovering round the house of a person on his death-bed, and at the moment that the family is in the greatest distress, rushing in to seize the best cattle or best furniture, and if they do not find enough to their minds, taking favourite dogs; in short, we had better part with such unworthy and unnecessary privileges for a valuable compensation, than wait until they are wrested from us with all the violence that had been experienced in a neighbouring kingdom." With these sentiments every one must accord: they are worthy the enlightened head and generous heart of the nobleman from whom they proceeded.

On the 3d of April 1793, Lord Sheffield had the misfortune to lose his amiable consort. She died suddenly at his Lordship's house in Downing-street, leaving two daughters, Maria Josepha †,

\* May 3, 1792.

† Maria Josepha, married October 11, 1796, to John Thomas Stanley, Esq. now Sir Thomas Stanley of Adderley, in Cheshire.

and Louisa Dorothea \*. Her Ladyship was a woman of most exemplary character. She is reported to have felt so uncommon a degree of sympathy for the unfortunate victims of the French revolution, that she fitted up an hospital for the reception of such of them in her own neighbourhood as stood in need of surgical advice and attendance, whilst she opened her house and table to the nobility and clergy who were refugees in the vicinity of Sheffield-place. Nor does her Lord appear to have been less hospitably disposed towards these wretched exiles than herself †. In a letter

\* Louisa Dorothea, married March 14, 1797, her cousin, Major-General William Henry Clinton, eldest son of the late Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Clinton, K. B.

† The following character of Lady Sheffield was published immediately after her death :

“ Society in general, and the virtuous in particular, but more especially the unfortunate and indigent, have suffered a severe and sudden loss. An unexpected death has taken off in four days Lady Sheffield, the most respectable of women, of wives, mothers, and friends : of manners as gentle as pure ; of a mind as modest as improved ; of a heart alike noble and sensible ; and of a pity whose delicacy was equal to its prodigality. Such are the qualities lamented by all who knew her. Ever since the disastrous events that have thrown among us so many victims of the French frenzy, she has rivalled her generous partner and lord in softening the lot of so many unhappy persons. Priests, laity, men, women, of all ranks and opinions, provided they were honest and unfortunate, found protection in the house, relief in the bounty, and comfort in the friendship of this virtuous couple. It is to be feared that Lady Sheffield fell a victim to her zeal and goodness. For some time she had been afflicted with a violent and almost incessant pain in her side, which did not however interrupt the course of her benevolence. Sometimes she with her own hands administered relief to the French women, thus sparing their delicacy, while she provided for their wants ; at other times she brought them medical assistants, although she did not consult them in her own case. In concert with her husband, she commissioned their friends to find out all the unfortunate sick emigrants, whom she placed in an hospital, of which her brother is governor ; and she furnished clothes to those who wanted them.

“ She had just fitted up a house for the accommodation of those who, by contagious diseases, were kept at a distance from all places of relief. On Good Friday she spent near two hours in this hospital, and two more at church, in extreme cold weather. On Saturday morning a pleurisy came on ; on Tuesday the symptoms of death appeared ; and the next morning she died, leaving her family and friends in the deepest affliction. All the unfortunate persons whom she was acquainted with, regret her loss ; and there is not a French emigrant but must bedew her ashes with tears.

to his friend Lord Sheffield, dated Lausanne, Oct. 1792 \*, anticipating the approach of the French towards Lausanne; Gibbon says, "Should I ever be forced to take refuge in England, you would perhaps receive me as kindly as you do the French priests; — a noble act of hospitality." And again, in the same packet; "Your protection of the French refugees is highly applauded †."

The following letter of condolence, addressed to Lord Sheffield by Gibbon, immediately on the loss of his Lady, cannot fail of proving interesting to our readers:

" *Lausanne, April 27, 1793.*

"My dearest friend, for such you most surely are, nor does there exist a person who obtains, or shall ever obtain, a superior place in my esteem and affection,

"After too long a silence I was sitting down to write, when only yesterday morning I was suddenly struck, — struck, indeed, to the heart, by the fatal intelligence from Sir Henry Clinton and Mr. De Lally. Alas, what is life, and what are our hopes and projects! When I embraced her at your departure from Lausanne, could I imagine that it was for the last time? When I postponed to another summer my journey to England, could I apprehend that I should never see her again? I always hoped that she would spin her feeble thread to a long duration; and that her delicate frame would survive (as is often the case) many constitutions of a stouter appearance. In four days! in your absence! in that of her children! But she is now at rest, and *if there be a future life*, her mild virtues have surely entitled her to the reward of pure and perfect felicity. It is for you that I feel, and I can judge of your sentiments by comparing them with my own. I have lost, it is true, an amiable and affectionate friend, whom I had known and loved above three and twenty years; and whom I often styled by the endearing name of — sister. But you are deprived of the companion of your life, the wife of

\* Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works, vol. i. p. 358.

† Ibid. p. 365.



your choice, and the mother of your children ! Poor children ! The loveliness of Maria, and the softness of Louisa, render them almost equally the objects of my tenderest compassion. I do not wish to aggravate your grief, but, in the sincerity of friendship, I cannot hold a different language. I know the impotence of reason, and I much fear that the strength of your character will serve to make a sharper and more lasting impression.

“ The only consolation in these melancholy trials, to which human life is exposed ; the only one, at least, in which I have any confidence, is the presence of a real friend ; and, of that, as far as it depends on myself, you shall not be destitute. I regret the few days that must be lost on some necessary preparations, but I trust that to-morrow se’ennight (May 5th) I shall be able to set forward on my journey to England ; and when this letter reaches you, I shall be considerably advanced on my way. As it is yet prudent to keep at a respectful distance from the banks of the French Rhine, I shall incline a little to the right, and proceed by Scaffhausen and Stutgard, to Frankfort and Cologne. The Austrian Netherlands are now open and safe, and I am sure of being able, at least, to pass from Ostend to Dover, whence, without passing through London, I shall pursue the direct road to Sheffield Place.” \*

We give the arrival of Mr. Gibbon’s visit at Sheffield Place, in his Lordship’s own words :

“ Mr. Gibbon had engaged to pass a year with me in England : with an alertness by no means natural to him, he almost immediately took a circuitous journey along the frontiers of an enemy worse than savage, within the sound of their cannon, within the range of the light troops of the different armies, and through roads ruined by the enormous machines of war.

“ The readiness with which he engaged in this kind of office, at a time when a selfish spirit might have pleaded a

\* Gibbon’s Miscellaneous Works, vol. i. p. 398.

thousand reasons for declining so hazardous a journey, conspired, with the peculiar charms of his society, to render his arrival a cordial to my mind. I had the satisfaction of finding that his own delicate and precarious state of health had not suffered in the service of his friend. He arrived in the beginning of June, at my house in Downing-street, in good health; and after passing about a month with me there, we settled at Sheffield Place for the remainder of the summer, where his wit, learning, and cheerful politeness, delighted a great variety of characters.”\*

Lord Sheffield enjoyed the society of his celebrated friend until October, when he took his departure to visit Mrs. Gibbon, and subsequently Lord Spencer, at Althorpe. Excepting only a visit to Lord Egremont and Mr. Hagley, Lord Sheffield and Mr. Gibbon were never absent from Sheffield Place, until the latter bade farewell to him entirely. The society at his Lordship's seat was entirely of a literary description; Messrs. North, Jekyll, Douglass, and Hagley, were often guests at Sheffield Place, during Mr. Gibbon's stay.

A few months afterwards the historian paid his Lordship a second visit, but the unfortunate state of Mr. Gibbon's health precluded all enjoyment to either party. He returned to London in a few weeks, where he died of the disease under which he had been suffering so acutely during his last visit.

The affectionate attentions which Gibbon received at all times, but more especially during his last illness, from Lord Sheffield and his amiable family, entitle them to the highest commendation. On his death, he constituted Lord Sheffield, in conjunction with John Thomas Butt, Esq. his executors. In the will, his Lordship is distinguished in the most flattering manner.

“ I constitute and appoint John Lord Sheffield, &c. &c. &c. I shall indulge these gentlemen in the pleasure of this last disinterested service, without wronging my feelings, or oppressing my heirs, by too light or too weighty a testimony of

\* Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works, vol. i. p. 404.

my gratitude. My obligations to the long and active friendship of Lord Sheffield, I could never sufficiently repay."

On the publication, by Lord Sheffield, of his valuable edition of the miscellaneous writings of Gibbon, he received many highly complimentary letters, and from persons too, whose opinions were really valuable. They were by no means undeserved; for it is seldom we meet with an editor so judicious, tasteful, and unobtrusive, as it respected the interpolation of individual opinion, as Lord Sheffield. He is never pragmatical; on the contrary, he seems ever disposed to let his author speak for himself, where this can be done with propriety.

On December 26th, 1794, Lord Sheffield married Lady Lucy Pelham, daughter of Thomas first Earl of Chichester, who died January 18th, 1797, leaving no family behind her.

In 1800 his Lordship published a work, entitled "Remarks on the Deficiency of Grain, occasioned by the bad Harvest of 1799; on the means of present Relief and future Plenty; with an Appendix, containing accounts of all the Corn imported and exported, with the Prices from 1697 to the 10th October, 1800."

In this pamphlet there is much able discussion. *Household-bread* is recommended by his Lordship as the most wholesome and nutritive food, being made from the whole meal, with only the bran taken out; yet, it is admitted this is so subject to adulteration, that a well-informed evidence stated to the Privy Council, that "when the flour is made of the whole meal, it is impossible to tell whether the miller, mealman, or factor have taken any fine flour out of it." Elsewhere, it is remarked by his Lordship, that the attack upon farmers is highly unjust; "for nothing can be more gross than the credulity which supposes a farmer would hoard up any quantity of wheat, when he can get an uncommonly high price for it." He also asserts, after Smith, that "rich farmers are a public benefit; that they improve agriculture, and that they keep magazines or stocks of grain without any expence to the public."

The following minute of a speech delivered by Lord Shef-



field in the House of Commons, will give the reader some idea of the manly style in which he was accustomed to express his sentiments. On July 30, 1801, Mr. Addington (now Lord Sidmouth) brought up a report from the committee on bills of inclosure, when Lord Sheffield rose, and said :

“That the country was much indebted to his honorable friend (Mr. A.) for the attention he had paid to the standing orders, and to the act which had just passed relative to inclosures. They may be of some use, (added he,) particularly in saving expence in respect of witnesses ; but they are utterly inadequate to the exigency, and the country will be much disappointed ; and, in his opinion, had reason to be dissatisfied, if it should be supposed this is all that is intended to be done. He said, the people had suffered exceedingly, particularly during the last two years, from something more serious than mere apprehension of famine. A scarcity of grain had raised the price in this and other countries with which we trade so high, that it would have been prohibitory to the use of it to a great proportion of the community, unless we had yielded to the dangerous policy of feeding the people at the public expence.

“To alleviate the distress, we had enacted in the course of two years that they should eat *stale bread*, and we have granted protecting duties which may bring here the limited quantity that can be had from other countries ; in consequence of this, we have raised the price abroad so high, that the present protecting duties will not indemnify the importer, particularly from America.

“To obviate the recurrence of such distress, the country loudly called for a general inclosure and cultivation of the waste lands as a certain and only sure relief ; and, in answer to their prayers, we have just passed an act which it was obvious to every person who understood the subject, could do very little indeed towards the attainment of the object in question.

“He observed, that there was a disposition to do every thing that could be done for the relief of the country, which disposition was checked by an apprehension that certain persons in another place would give obstruction. It was also common to say, that no essential measure must be attempted ; that we should endeavour to get a little at a time, and that by trying for more the whole would be lost, &c. He, on the other hand, begged leave to observe, that in the mean time the country might starve and be ruined ; that he should ever reprobate such language, and that the members of that House would be unworthy their situations, if they

were to be prevented from bringing forward measures that may save the nation from famine and bankruptcy.

“ If we should not succeed, the people would be at least satisfied we had done our duty, and the public dissatisfaction would fall only on those whose ill-founded opinions and views, whatever they may be, counteract the public welfare.

“ He then remarked that we must not be deterred from attempting to relieve the country by high-sounding phrases, such as ‘ that a commutation for tithe in kind would sap the foundation of all property :’ those to whom that kind of argument is addressed, must be imagined very ignorant and very weak ; it seems to suppose that moduses, which are mere commutations for tithe, had not existed for many centuries in this country ; it seems to pass over the circumstance that the greater part of the acts of inclosure do the same thing, and allot land for tithes.

“ He then added, that the distress of the country had been, and is great : he therefore had much pleasure in learning, that several gentlemen had the intention of bringing forward something on the subject ; it afforded him great satisfaction, thinking as he did, that it would be otherwise incumbent on him to offer some measure to parliament.

“ He flattered himself his Majesty’s ministers would introduce some great measure ; he knew they had not neglected the subject in question, and that they would fairly consider the dangerous consequence of depending on other countries for subsistence, the uncertainty of it, and the ruinous expence if we could obtain the quantity of grain we wanted. They will find (added his Lordship) that on an average of the last ten years, we had paid 3,300,000*l.* annually to foreign countries for grain ; and in the last year, namely 1800, we had paid upwards of 10,649,000*l.*, which is more than double the heretofore boasted balance of trade in our favour.

“ He concluded by saying, that he should not then trouble the House further than by moving : ‘ That in all bills for the inclosing or improving any waste or uncultivated lands, there be inserted a clause, empowering and directing the commissioners to mark out or award unto the tithe-owner, an allotment of such waste and uncultivated lands, to be once ring-fenced by the proprietors of the adjoining allotments thereof, in lieu of all tithes to arise from all such waste and uncultivated lands.’

“ He observed, that this merely related to land that had never paid any tithe ; and that he knew the cultivation of large tracts was prevented in consequence of the difficulties which arose with respect to the tithes.”

January, 1798, Lord Sheffield married his third wife, Lady Anne North, daughter of Frederick North, second Earl of Guilford, by whom he has one son, George Augustus Frederick Charles, Lord Pevensey, born March 16, 1802.

In the July of the same year, Lord Sheffield's important services to the political economy of the country, both as a senator and an author, were rewarded by an elevation to the British House of Lords, by the title of LORD SHEFFIELD of Sheffield, in Sussex.

His Lordship closed a long and eminently useful life, at his house in Portland-place, May 30th, 1821. His remains were interred in the family mausoleum at Hitching, attended by his numerous tenantry and friends.

An excellent portrait of this nobleman was painted in 1816, by Martin Arthur Shee, R. A. This picture was executed at the request of the House of Assembly at New Brunswick, for the Province-hall.

Lord Sheffield was the author of a variety of pamphlets, principally referring to commercial and political economy. Gibbon has given the following character of his Lordship's works:

“The sense and spirit of his (Lord Sheffield's) political writings have decided the public opinion on the great questions of our commercial interests with America and Zealand. The sale of his ‘Observations on the American States’ was very considerable; their effect beneficial: the navigation act, the palladium of Britain, was defended, and perhaps saved, by his pen; and he proves by the weight of fact and argument, that the mother-country may survive and flourish after the loss of America. My friend has never cultivated the arts of composition; but his materials are copious and correct, and he leaves on his paper the clear impression of an active and vigorous mind. His ‘Observations on the Trade, Manufactures, and present state of Ireland,’ were intended to guide the industry, to correct the prejudices, and to assuage the passions of a country which seemed to forget that she could be free and prosperous only by a friendly connexion with Great



Britain. The concluding observations are written with so much ease and spirit, that they may be read by those who are the least interested in the subject."

*The following is, as far as we have been able to ascertain, a correct list of Sheffield's Works :*

1. Observations on the Commerce of the American States ; 8vo. 1783.
  2. Observations on the Manufactures, Trade, and present State of Ireland ; 8vo. 1785.
  3. Observations on a Project for Abolishing the Slave-Trade ; 8vo. 1789.
  4. Observations on the Corn-Bill now pending in Parliament ; 8vo. 1791.
  5. Substance of Lord Sheffield's Speech on the Subject of the Union with Ireland ; 8vo. 1799.
  6. Remarks on the Deficiency of Grain, occasioned by the bad Harvest of 1799 ; 8vo. 1800.
  7. Observations on the Objections made to the Exportation of Wool from Great Britain to Ireland ; 8vo. 1800.
  8. Strictures on the Necessity of maintaining the Navigation and Colonial System of Great Britain ; 8vo. 1800.
  9. The Orders in Council and the American Embargo, beneficial to the Commercial and Political Interests of Great Britain ; 8vo. 1809.
  10. A Letter on the Corn Laws, and on the Means of obviating the Mischiefs and Distresses which are rapidly increasing ; 8vo. 1815.
  11. On the Trade in Wool and Woollens, extracted from the Reports addressed to the Wool Meetings in 1809, 1810, 1811, and 1812.
  12. Report at the Meeting at Lewes Wool Fair, July 26, 1813.
- [The last two pamphlets have been recorded in the Pamphleteer.]
13. Report at the Meeting at Lewes Wool Fair, 1820.

## No. V.

## MRS. PIOZZI.

THE name of this lady has been so frequently connected with the literary annals of this country, for the last fifty years, that a succinct account of her life, illustrated by anecdotes of the distinguished society in which she moved, and of which she generally formed the *nucleus*, would of itself occupy a volume. We must, therefore, content ourselves with a narrower field of discussion, and referring our readers to an abundant fund of anecdote, already before the public, of her contemporaries, confine the present notice almost exclusively to herself and her writings.

Hester Lynch Salusbury was the daughter of John Salusbury, Esq. by Miss Hester Maria Cotton, formerly of Bach-y-Graig, in North Wales, and niece to Sir Thomas Salusbury, who rose to considerable eminence as a civilian in Doctors' Commons. She was born in 1740, at Bodville, in Caernarvonshire, and received a regular classical education under the superintendence of the late learned Dr. Collyer. Of her early years but little information has been transmitted; they must have passed in seclusion and study, or she could never have acquired that variety of knowledge, and that general acquaintance with literature, even in its most abstract and difficult branches, which she so soon began to display; for, besides an acquaintance, by no means superficial, with the Greek and Latin languages, Miss Salusbury was considered a tolerably good Hebraist, acquirements which, added to her great personal attractions, conduced to render her the admiration of the fashionable circles to which she was introduced.

In her twenty-fourth year Miss Salusbury married the late Henry Thrale, Esq., an eminent brewer in the Borough of

Southwark. This respectable man, a year subsequent to his marriage, was introduced by Mr. Murphy to Dr. Johnson; with whom an intimacy was speedily cultivated, which ended only with the lives of the parties. So well pleased was our great biographer with the hospitable attentions he received from the new-married pair, and so highly were they gratified by his visits, that their invitations grew more frequent, and he at length became as one of the family, and an apartment was appropriated to him both in their house at Southwark, and in their villa at Streatham.

“Johnson (says Boswell) had a very sincere esteem for Mr. Thrale, as a man of excellent principles, a good scholar, well skilled in trade, of a sound understanding, and of manners such as presented the character of a plain English 'squire. As a false notion has prevailed that Mr. Thrale was inferior, and, in some degree, insignificant, compared with Mrs. Thrale, it may be proper to give a true state of the case from the authority of Johnson himself, in his own words :

“ ‘I know no man (said the Doctor) who is more master of his wife and family than Thrale; if he but holds up a finger he is obeyed. It is a great mistake to suppose that she is above him in literary attainments: she is more flippant; but he has ten times her learning: he is a regular scholar; but her learning is that of a school-boy in one of the lower forms.’ ”

Perhaps Johnson, who appears to have had a rooted dislike to the assumption of literary talent by a woman, with whatever justice her pretensions might be urged, was a little too severe upon his friend, whose attainments were unquestionably very far beyond those of the ladies of her time.

“Nothing (continues Boswell) could be more fortunate for Johnson than his connexion with this family. He had at Mr. Thrale's all the comforts and luxuries of life; his melancholy was diverted, and his irregular habits lessened by association with an agreeable and well-ordered family. He was treated with the utmost cordiality, and even affection. The vivacity of Mrs. Thrale's literary parties roused him to cheerfulness and exer-



tion, even when they were alone; but this was not often the case; for he found here a constant succession of what gave him the highest enjoyment, — the society of the learned, the witty, and the eminent in every way; who were assembled in numerous companies, called forth his wonderful powers, and gratified him to admiration with which no man could be insensible.”

Mrs. Piozzi, in her anecdotes of Dr. Johnson, gives the following account of her first interview with that literary colossus :

“The first time I ever saw this extraordinary person was in the year 1764, when Mr. Murphy, who had been long the friend and confidential intimate of Mr. Thrale, persuaded him to wish for Johnson’s conversation, extolling it in terms which that of no other person could have deserved, till we are only in doubt how to obtain his company, and find an excuse for the invitation.

“Dr. Johnson liked his new acquaintance so much, however, that, from time to time, he dined with us every Thursday through the winter, and in the autumn of the next year went to Brighton, whence we were gone before his arrival; so that he was disappointed and enraged, and wrote us a letter expressive of anger, which we were very desirous to pacify, and to obtain his company again if possible. Mr. Murphy brought him back again to us very kindly, and from that time his visits grew more frequent; till, in the year 1766, his health, which he always complained of, grew so exceedingly bad, that he could not stir out of his room in the court he inhabited for many weeks together, I think months.

“Mr. Thrale’s attentions and my own now became so acceptable to him, that he quitted his close habitation in London and came with us to Streatham, where I undertook the cure of his health; and had the honour and happiness of contributing to its restoration.”

It appears that during the interval of Dr. Johnson’s sojourn in Mr. Thrale’s family, many differences arose between him and Mrs. Thrale’s mother. Previous to her death, however, which happened in 1773, the Doctor and this lady were pre-

fectly reconciled, and he consented to write an inscription for her tomb a few years afterwards. Whatever petty squabbles might have arisen out of the overbearing and impatient manners of Johnson, it is quite certain that this family contributed for fifteen years to the prolongation and comfort of his valuable life; and when the benevolent master of this social circle sank into the grave, the remembrance of his kindness was acknowledged by the living object of his regard, with the confession, that with him were buried many of his hopes and pleasures; that the face upon which he had looked for the last time, had never been turned upon him but with respect and benignity; that he obtained from him many opportunities of amusement, and turned to him as a refuge from disappointment and misfortune.

The death of Mr. Thrale took place April 4, 1781. Dr. Johnson was with him when he expired, and upon receiving a *call* to attend a meeting of the literary club, excused his absence by the following note:

“Mr. Johnson knows that Sir Joshua Reynolds, and the other gentlemen, will excuse his incomppliance with his call, when they are told that Mr. Thrale died this morning.

“*April 4, 1781.*”

The death of this worthy and hospitable man was a serious loss to Johnson, who, although he could not foresee all that afterwards happened, was sufficiently convinced, that the comforts which Mr. Thrale's family afforded him, would now, in a great measure cease. “He, however (says Boswell) continued to shew a kind attention to his widow and children, as long as it was acceptable; and he took upon him with a very earnest concern the office of one of the executors, the importance of which seemed greater than was usual to him, from his circumstances having been always such, that he had scarcely any share in the real business of life. His friends of the club were in hopes that Mr. Thrale might have made a liberal provision for him for life, which, as Mr. Thrale had left no son, and a very large fortune, it would have been highly to his honour to have done; and, considering Dr. Johnson's

age, could not have been of long duration ; but he bequeathed him only two hundred pounds, which was the legacy left to each of his two executors."

The death of Mr. Thrale, who was wont, when occasion required, to overrule by some gentle observation the domineering and tyrannical spirit which Dr. Johnson evinced in conversation, left him, as it were, virtual monarch of the fire-side ; and the consequence was, that he began to exercise his unlimited power of insulting Mrs. Thrale's friends, to so annoying an extent, that it was extremely difficult for her to find any body with whom he could converse, without living always on the verge of a quarrel, or of something too like a quarrel to be at all agreeable. Several instances of his aristocratical severity towards her friends have been detailed by her, and admitted by Boswell, which must have rendered his society rather a nuisance, than an acquisition\*. Nor were these disagreeables of unfrequent occurrence : to release herself from them altogether without positively offending the Doctor, Mrs. Thrale took advantage of an unsuccessful law-

\* Mr. Thrale (says Mrs. Piozzi, in her anecdotes) had a very powerful influence over the Doctor, and could make him suppress many rough answers ; he could likewise prevail on him to change his shirt, his coat, or his plate, before it became indispensably necessary to the comfortable feelings of his friends. But as I never had any ascendancy over Dr. Johnson, except just in the things which concerned his health, it grew extremely perplexing and difficult to live in the house with him, when the master of it was no more ; the worse, indeed, because his dislikes grew capricious ; and he could scarce bear to have any body come to the house, whom it was absolutely necessary for me to see. Two gentlemen, I perfectly well remember dining with us at Streatham, in the summer of 1782, when Elliot's brave defence of Gibraltar was a subject of common discourse ; one of these persons, naturally enough, began talking about red-hot balls thrown with surprising effect ; which Dr. Johnson having listened some time to, ' I would advise you, Sir, (said he, with a cold sneer,) never to relate this story again ; you can scarce imagine how *very poor* a figure you make in the telling of it !' Our guest being bred a Quaker, and a man of extremely gentle disposition, needed no more reproofs for the same offence ; or if he did speak again, it was in a low tone of voice to the friend who came with him. The check was given before dinner, and after coffee. When in the evening, however, our companions were returned to town, and Dr. Johnson and I were alone, he observed, ' I did not quarrel with those fellows.' ' You did perfectly right,' said I, ' for they gave you no cause of offence.' ' No offence,' (returned he, with an altered voice,) ' and is it nothing to sit whispering together when *I* am present, without even directing their discourse towards *me*, or offering *me* a share in the conversation ?'



suit, and pleaded her pecuniary inability to remain longer in London, or its vicinity. “ I had been crossed in my intention of going abroad, (says this lady in her anecdotes,) and found it convenient for every reason, of health, peace, and pecuniary circumstances, to retire to Bath, where I knew Dr. Johnson would not follow me, and where I could for that reason command some little portion of time for my own use, — a thing impossible while I remained at Streatham or at London, as my horses, carriage, and servants, had long been at his command, who would not ride in the morning till twelve o’clock, perhaps, and oblige me to make breakfast for him, till the bell rung for dinner, though much displeased if the toilet was neglected; and though much of the time we passed together in blaming or deriding very justly my neglect of economy, and waste of that money which might make many families happy. The original reason of our connection, his *particularly disordered health and spirits*, had long been at an end, and he had no other ailments than old age and general infirmity, which every professor of medicine was ardently zealous, and generally attentive to palliate, and to contribute all in their power for the prolongation of so valuable a life. Veneration for his virtue, reverence for his talents, delight in his conversation, and habitual endurance of a yoke my husband first put upon me, and of which he contentedly bore his share for sixteen years, made me go on so long with Dr. Johnson; but the perpetual confinement, I will own to have been terrifying in the first years of our friendship, and irksome in the last; nor would I pretend to support it without help, when my coadjutor was no more. To the assistance we gave him, the shelter our house afforded to his uneasy fancies, and to the pains which we took to soothe or repress them, the world, perhaps, is indebted for the three Political Tracts, the new edition and corrections of his Dictionary, and for the Poets’ Lives, which he would scarce have lived, I think, and kept his faculties entire, to have written, had not incessant care been exerted at the time of his first coming to be our guest in the country; and several times after that, when he found him-

self particularly oppressed with diseases incident to the most vivid and fervent imaginations. I shall for ever consider it as the greatest honour which could be conferred on any one, to have been the confidential friend of Dr. Johnson's health; and to have in some measure, with Mr. Thrale's assistance, saved from distress at least, if not from worse, a mind, greatly beyond the comprehension of common mortals, and good beyond all hope of imitation from perishable beings."

This statement, apparently candid, and free from the invidiousness imputed by Boswell to Mrs. Thrale, was in all probability perfectly warranted by the behaviour of Dr. Johnson, whose repulsive manners are described as being endured with far less forbearance by the wife of his biographer.

"The death of Mrs. Thrale (remarks Boswell), made a very material alteration with respect to Johnson's reception in that family. The manly authority of the husband no longer curbed the lively exuberance of the lady; and as her vanity had been fully gratified by having the colossus of literature attached to her for many years, she gradually became less assiduous to please him." There is great want of generosity in these insinuations. The yoke imposed upon Mrs. Thrale, from the earliest stage of her connexion with Dr. Johnson, appears to have been by no means voluntary; and although her respect for his transcendent talents and eminent virtues induced her, through a long series of years, to the manifest inconvenience of herself and family, to retain him as an inmate in her house, humour his caprices, and contribute to his comfort by the most minute, and even affectionate attentions, there could be no satisfactory reason why, when duty to her husband no longer required the sacrifice, she should, for his sake, quarrel with the whole circle of her acquaintance, and subject herself to his peevish and unqualified animadversions upon her conduct, simply because his genius commanded her admiration, and the moral points of his character obtained her respect. It is impossible to blame her with any degree of justice for desiring to get rid of so troublesome a tax upon her time and attention.

She seems to have formed a proper estimate of the noble qualities of this great man; but there was no tie between them which could warrant the expectation that she was to sacrifice her comfort and happiness exclusively to his convenience.

Desirous, however, of retaining his good opinion, she bore her thralldom without open complaint, and waited patiently until an opportunity presented itself for her to obtain her release, without paining the feelings of Dr. Johnson; and her continued correspondence with him, so long as her letters appeared to give him any pleasure, is a proof that she was actuated by no unkind sentiments towards him.

Epistolary intercourse of a very cordial description was kept alive between Mrs. Thrale and the Doctor until her second marriage, with Signior Piozzi, a native of Florence, and a music-master of the city of Bath, when an expostulation on the part of Johnson, implying his disapprobation of this step, seems altogether to have dissolved their friendship. On this occasion we must confess that our verdict of condemnation rests almost entirely with the lady; for the tone of remonstrance in which Dr. Johnson's letter was couched, was no more than, as an old and intimate friend, he was fully justified in adopting; as there is no question but that the respectability of Mrs. Thrale was in nowise increased by her second marriage, at the age of forty-four years, with an Italian music-master. We shall enable our readers to judge of the propriety of the opinion, by citing Mrs. Piozzi's letter to Dr. Johnson, informing him of the event, and the reply, at which she thought proper to take such unnecessary and, as we conceive, unprovoked offence.

“ *Bath, June 20. 1784.*

“ MY DEAR SIR, — The enclosed is a circular letter which I have sent to all the guardians; but our friendship demands something more; it requires that I should beg your pardon for concealing from you a connection which you must have heard of by many; but, I suppose, never believed. Indeed, my dear Sir, it was concealed only to save us both needless



pain ; I could not have borne to reject that counsel it would have killed me to take ; and I only tell it you now, because all is irrevocably settled, and out of your power to prevent. I will say, however, that the dread of your disapprobation has given me some anxious moments, and though, perhaps, I am become, by many privations, the most independent woman in the world, I feel as if acting without a parent's consent, till you write kindly to your faithful servant,

“ H. L. PIOZZI.

“ *To Dr. Johnson.*”

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“ *London, July 8. 1784.*

“ DEAR MADAM, — What you have done, however I may lament it, I have no pretence to resent, as it has not been injurious to me ; I therefore breathe out one sigh more of tenderness, perhaps useless, but at least sincere.

“ I wish that God may grant you every blessing ; that you may be happy in this world for its short continuance, and eternally happy in a better state ; and whatever I can contribute to your happiness, I am very ready to repay, for that kindness which soothed twenty years of a life radically wretched. Do not think slightly of the advice which I now presume to offer. Prevail upon Mr. Piozzi to settle in England : you may live here with more dignity than in Italy, and with more security : your rank will be higher, and your fortune more under your own eye. I desire not to detail all my reasons, but every argument of prudence and interest is for England, and only some phantoms of imagination seduce you to Italy.

“ I am afraid, however, that my counsel is vain ; yet I have eased my heart by giving it.

“ When Queen Mary took the resolution of sheltering herself in England, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's ; attempting to dissuade her, attended on her journey ; and when they came to the irremediable stream that separated the two king-

doms, walked by her side into the water, in the middle of which he seized her bridle, and with earnestness proportioned to her danger, and his own affection, pressed her to return. The Queen went forward. If the parallel reaches thus far, may it go no further! The tears stand in my eyes.

"I am going into Derbyshire, and hope to be followed by your good wishes, for I am, with great affection, yours, &c.

"SAM. JOHNSON.

"*Mrs. Piozzi.*"

This was the last communication ever made by Dr. Johnson to his friend Mrs. Piozzi.

On the 6th September 1784, Mrs. Piozzi set out with her husband on a continental tour through France, Italy, and Germany, and passing through Calais, Boulogne, Montrieuil, Amiens, Chantilly, &c. arrived at Paris, where they remained, however, but a short time. After having inspected the principal objects of curiosity in the French capital, Mr. and Mrs. Piozzi proceeded to Lyons, Turin, Mont Cenis, Novalesa, Monte Cavale, Novi, Genoa, Pavia, and Milan, where they took up their winter quarters. From this place they passed on to Venice, by way of Padua, Mantua, Verona, &c. From thence, on the 21st of May, 1782, they returned up the Brenta in a barge to Padua. They next visited Ferrara, the city celebrated for the confinement of Tasso, in the hospital for lunatics there; and subsequently Bologna and Florence, where they took up there abode for some time on the banks of the Arno.

During her stay here, Mrs. Piozzi formed an acquaintance with several English persons of both sexes; and among others, Messrs. Merry, Parsons, and Greathhead, of Della Cruscan notoriety; in conjunction with whom she printed a volume of miscellaneous prose and verse, entitled "*The Florence Miscellany*," of which a few impressions only were struck off, as presents to the poetical friends of the authors. Specimens of this fantastical production have appeared in a periodical paper, entitled "*The World*;" the conductorship of which

was, it has been said, committed to the subject of the present memoir; but this sample does not appear to have excited any curiosity in the public mind to see more of it.

“In 1785,” (says Mr. Gifford, in the preface to his *Baviad* and *Mæviad*,) “a few English of both sexes, whom chance had jumbled together at Florence, took a fancy to while away their time in scribbling high-flown panegyrics on themselves; and complimentary *cauzonnettas* on two or three Italians, who understood too little of the language in which they were written, to be disgusted with them. In this there was not much harm; nor, indeed, much good; but as folly is progressive, they soon wrought themselves into an opinion that they really deserved the fine things which they mutually said and sung of each other.

“Thus persuaded, they were unwilling their inimitable productions should be confined to the little circle that produced them; they, therefore, transmitted them to England; and as their friends were enjoined not to shew them, they were first handed about the town with great assiduity, and then sent to the press.

“A short time before the period we speak of, a knot of fantastic coxcombs had set up a daily paper, called ‘*The World*.’ It was perfectly unintelligible, and, therefore, much read; it was equally lavish of praise and abuse; (praise of what appeared in its own columns, and abuse of every thing that appeared elsewhere;) and as its conductors were at once ignorant and conceited, they took upon them to direct the taste of the town, by prefixing a short panegyric to every trifle that came before them.

“At this auspicious period the first cargo of poetry arrived from Florence, and was given to the public through the medium of this favoured paper. There was a specious brilliancy in these exotics, which dazzled the native grubs, who had scarce ever ventured beyond a sheep, and a crook, and a rose-tree grove, with an ostentatious display of ‘blue hills’ and ‘crashing torrents,’ and ‘petrifying suns.’ From admiration to imitation is but a step. Honest Yenda tried his hand



at a descriptive ode, and succeeded beyond his hopes; Anna Matilda; in a word

——— contagio labem

Hanc dedit in plures, sicut grex totus in agris

Unius scabie cadit, et porrigine porci.

‘ While the epidemic malady was spreading from fool to fool, Della Crusca came over, and immediately announced himself by a sonnet to love. Anna Matilda wrote an incomparable piece of nonsense in praise of it; and the two ‘great luminaries of the age,’ as Mr. Bell calls them, fell desperately in love with each other.

“ From that period not a day passed without an amatory epistle fraught with lightning and thunder, *et quicquid habent telorum armamentaria cæli*. The fever turned to a frenzy. Laura Maria, Carlos, Orlando, Adelaide, and a thousand other nameless names, caught the infection; and from one end of the kingdom to the other all was nonsense and Della Crusca.”

Such is Mr. Gifford’s account of the origin of this contemptible class of writers. But although Mrs. Piozzi had the misfortune to be a member and almost the founder of the association, it is equally certain that she was by many degrees the most sensible and well-informed person in this band of affected versifiers. Her admirable tale of the “Three Warnings,” is worth all the Della Cruscan fopperies that were ever inflicted upon the public.

On September 12th 1785, Mrs. Piozzi and her husband left Florence and its attractions, and visited Lucca, Pisa, Leghorn, and afterwards Rome, where they remained long enough to investigate all the sublime antiquities of that queen of cities. It would be useless to follow her in all her vague descriptions of objects, which have been so frequently and with so much better effect, depicted by modern travellers.

Their next place of resort was Naples, where they descended to view the subterranean cities of Herculaneum, Pompeia, and Portici, having first inspected all that was worthy of their notice above ground. They then returned to Rome, and on

their way back to England, passed once more through Bologna, Padua, Venice, Verona, Parma, Milan, from which latter place they proceeded to Bergamo, Pavia, and other cities which they had not visited before.

Leaving the Italian frontiers by the Tyrolese Alps, they proceeded through Trent, Inspruck, Munich, and Saltzburg, to Vienna. Having remained in that capital a month, they passed along the Danube, and thence to Dresden, Berlin, Potzdam, Hanover, Brussels, Antwerp, Lille, and finally Calais; where Mrs. Piozzi wrote some foolish verses in imitation of the *jeu d'esprit* left by Dean Swift at the Ship Inn, Dover.

He whom fair winds have wafted over,  
First hails his native land at Dover;  
And doubts not but he shall discover  
Pleasure in every path round Dover;  
Envies the happy crows which hover  
About old Shakespear's cliff at Dover;  
Nor once reflects that each young rover  
Feels just the same returned to Dover;  
From this fond dream he'll soon recover  
When debts shall drive him back to Dover;  
Hoping, though poor, to live in clover,  
Once safely past the straits of Dover;  
But he alone his country's lover,  
Who absent long return to Dover;  
And can by fair experience prove her,  
The best he's found since last at Dover."

A short time after her return Mrs. Piozzi published an account of these travels in two volumes octavo; but of this work it is not possible to speak in terms of much approbation. The descriptions, indeed, of many of the places which were visited by the authoress and her Italian spouse, are so vague, unsatisfactory, and indefinite, that a stranger to the writer might very reasonably question her ever having seen many of the places she attempts to depict. The reflections which are intermixed are of the same flimsy character with the detail itself, and are more remarkable for their flippancy than either their

point or applicability to the subjects under her consideration. Her second marriage would seem, in a great measure, to have un-Anglicised her. She no longer saw with the same eyes, nor listened with the same ears. Her organs and faculties appear to have undergone a complete metamorphosis.

It is a matter of surprise to us how a book so utterly devoid of interest should have been so generally encouraged as these travels would seem to have been, coming as they did so soon after the sprightly and amusing volumes of Doctor Moore upon the same subject.

About ten years after this publication Mrs. Piozzi put forth a work, entitled "British Synonymy, or an Attempt at regulating the Choice of Words in familiar Conversation," in two octavo volumes, of which Mr. Gifford has in his *Baviad* and *Mæviad*, spoken with memorable severity. "To execute such a work," says he, "with any tolerable degree of success, required a rare combination of talents; among the least of which may be numbered, neatness of style, acuteness of perception, and a more than common accuracy of discrimination; and Mrs. Piozzi brought to the task a jargon long since become proverbial for its vulgarity, an utter incapability of defining a single term in the language, and just as much Latin as sufficed to expose the ignorance she so anxiously labours to conceal." This is a very harsh but in some degree a merited sentence. The book is full of flippancy and affectation, and often involves in tenfold obscurity that which it should have been its object to explain.

The earliest regular exploit of Mrs. Piozzi in authorship, however, was her crown octavo volume of "Anecdotes of Dr. Johnson." These were published in 1786. Two years afterwards she gave to the world a collection of letters to and from our great moralist. The letters had been written between the years 1765 and 1784. Her anecdotes, from her intimate knowledge of the exalted individual, whose character they were intended to illustrate, could not fail of being interesting and valuable. At the time of their publication they were exceedingly popular; but the charm of novelty which made them



acceptable, is now in a great measure dissolved. There is a sacredness in the character of him who, besides extorting from us a tribute of admiration as a public writer, has benefited society by the example of his private life, and has confirmed and instructed us both by precept and example. The feelings of such a man ought not to be forgotten in our veneration for his general usefulness and worth. The deteriorating anecdotes related by Mrs. Piozzi of Dr. Johnson have, we doubt, not their foundation for the most part in fact; but we have no relish at this period for any statements that are likely to turn the course of our esteem and reverence for a character for which we have imbibed a veneration from our earliest years.

We have already made several extracts from this agreeable gossiping volume. We quote from it the following verses addressed by Johnson to Mrs. Piozzi, during his residence with her on one of her birth-days.

Oft in danger, yet alive,  
 We are come to thirty-five;  
 Long may better years arrive,  
 Better years than thirty-five,  
 Could philosophers contrive  
 Life to stop at thirty-five.  
 High to soar, and deep to dive,  
 Nature gives at thirty-five:  
 For howe'er we boast and strive,  
 Life declines from thirty-five:  
 He that ever hopes to thrive  
 Must begin at thirty-five;  
 All who wisely wish to wive  
 Must look on Thrale at thirty-five.

The late intelligent Joseph Barretti was severe in his animadversions upon the work, as was also Boswell, in his life of Johnson, while the late Dr. Wolcot has humourously satirized both the lady and her critic, Boswell, under the designations of *Bozzy* and *Pozzy*.

For the last fifteen years of her life Mrs. Piozzi resided

almost constantly at Clifton near Bath. Her Italian husband dying in 1809, left her once more a widow.

She died at Clifton, after a very short illness, in her 83d year, and was conveyed for interment to the family burial-place in North Wales. She preserved her health and faculties to the last; indeed, so hale and vigorous does her constitution appear to have been, that a short time before her death, on the completion of her 82d year, she gave a ball, and led off the first dance herself.

We copy the following pieces by Mrs. Piozzi, from the pages of the Literary Gazette, where they appeared a few weeks ago. They were never before published, having been in all probability, written only a short time before her death.

### DUTY AND PLEASURE.

DUTY and Pleasure, long at strife,  
 Cross'd in the common walks of life.  
 "Pray don't disturb me, get you gone,"  
 Cries Duty, in a serious tone:—  
 Then with a smile, "keep off, my dear,  
 Nor force me thus to be severe."  
 "Dear Sir!" cries Pleasure, "you're so grave!  
 You make yourself a perfect slave:  
 I can't think why we disagree,  
 You may turn Methodist for me.  
 But if you'll neither laugh nor play,  
 At least don't stop me in my way.  
 Yet sure one moment you might steal  
 To see the lovely Miss O'Neil;  
 One hour to relaxation give;  
 Oh! lend *one* hour from life — to live.  
 And here's a bird, and there's a flower,  
 Dear Duty, walk a little slower."  
 "My morning's task is not half done,"  
 Cries Duty with an inward groan;  
 "False colours on each object spread,  
 I know not whence, or where I'm led;  
 Your bragg'd enjoyments mount the wind,  
 And leave the venom'd stings behind:  
 Where are you flown?" — Voices around  
 Cry, "Pleasure long hath left this ground."

Old age advances, haste away!  
 Nor lose the light of parting day;  
 See Sickness follows, Sorrow threats,  
 Waste no more time in vain regrets:  
 O Duty! one more effort given  
 May reach, perhaps, the gates of Heaven;  
 Where only each with each delighted,  
 Pleasure and Duty live united."

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*Translation of Donna Laura's well-known Verses on the Gate  
 of Bologna.*

THY mansion splendid, and thy service — plate;  
 Thy coffers filled with gold; well! what of that?  
 Thy spouse the envy of all other men;  
 Thy children beautiful and rich: what then?  
 Vigorous thy youth, unmortgaged thy estate;  
 Of arts — the applauded teacher; what of that?  
 Troops of acquaintance, and of slaves a train;  
 The world's prosperity complete; what then?  
 Prince, Pope, or Emperor's thy smiling fate,  
 With a long life's enjoyment; what of that?  
 By Fortune's wheel toss'd high beyond our ken,  
 Too soon shall following time cry — Well, what then?  
 Virtue alone remains, on virtue wait,  
 All else I sweep away — but what of that?  
 Trust God and time defy — Immortal is your date.

---

*Catullus to his Boat.*

THE Pleasure Boat you see before ye  
 Ne'er had his like in tale or story;  
 And whether sail or oar he plies,  
 No skiff shall e'er dispute the prize  
 With him who scorns the Thracian roar,  
 And Adrea's threatening rocky shore,  
 Knows every current that can glide  
 Unseen, beneath the rushing tide,  
 Skilful through lands and surfs to steer,  
 His flag's true motto — Persevere.  
 Returned at length from dangerous seas,  
 Laid up in literary ease;



May he, at least sometimes, remember  
 That glimmering light which saved his timber ;  
 And hail the destiny that shone  
 Upon his constellation.

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*Verses made on a Mile-stone in Cornwall, when pursuing her  
 Journey to Penzance.*

THE journey now begins t' advance,  
 And takes us nearer to Penzance.  
 We have met, thank Heaven ! with no ill chance,  
 Through this long distance to Penzance.  
 And though just now too tired to dance,  
 Have brought good spirits to Penzance.  
 No fowl in Prague, no trout in France,  
 Beats fish and poultry at Penzance.  
 Indeed a retrospective glance  
 To Clifton Terrace from Penzance,  
 Would not exceedingly enhance  
 The few delights of low Penzance ;  
 Yet this blue sea will pay the prance  
 We made to arrive at warm Penzance.  
*Eh ! finessons une fois ces stances,*  
*Les Muses n'habitent pas à Penzance.*

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*Addressed to a Friend, to whom she bequeathed her Repeating-  
 Watch.*

Down Time's rapid stream to Eternity's ocean,  
 Here see the swift moments each other pursue,  
 Nor take, without feeling some tender emotion,  
 My Time's old accountant — transmitted to you.

Your monitress still, in this varied Repeater,  
 A useful memento recorded may be ;  
 If, wishing once more in the next life to meet her,  
 You scorn not the precepts of poor

H. L. P.

*Mrs. Piozzi's Publications are :*

1. Anecdotes of Dr. Samuel Johnson during the last Twenty Years of his Life; 8vo. 1786.
2. Letters to and from Dr. Samuel Johnson; 2 vols. 8vo. 1788.
3. Observations and Reflections made in the course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany; 2 vols. 8vo.
4. In connection with other writers, The Florence Miscellany; 8vo.
5. British Synonymy, or an Attempt at regulating the Choice of Words in familiar Conversation; 2 vols. 8vo. 1794.
6. Retrospection, or a Review of the most striking and important Events, Characters, Situations, and their Consequences, which the last 1800 Years have presented to the View of Mankind; 2 vols. 4to. 1801.
7. The Three Warnings; and contributions in verse and prose to various periodical works.

## No. VI.

## THE REV. VICESSIMUS KNOX, D.D.

THIS popular writer, who has for so many years held a distinguished place in the republic of literature, was born at Newington Green, in Middlesex, December 8, 1752. His father, the Rev. Vicessimus Knox, L.L.B. a fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, and a master of Merchant Taylor's School, was a respectable scholar, a truly amiable man, and, in the exercise of his clerical functions, possessed the high esteem of several large congregations in London, who for many years enjoyed the advantage of his instructions. Mr. Knox died at the age of forty-nine. His only son, the subject of the present memoir, became a member of the college in which his father had preceded him, where he pursued his studies with successful diligence, and was in due time elected to a fellowship. He went through a course of reading which comprehended all the best Greek and Roman classics, and imitated the style of each in verse and prose, with great felicity. His early compositions in Latin, were numerous, and much admired in the college, for wit, humour, taste, and purity of diction. Dr. Dennis, the president of St. John's, and a man of considerable learning, soon discovered in Mr. Knox those indications of superior genius, which were hereafter to shed lustre upon his college. He took every occasion to encourage him in his studious pursuits, and as a mark of honourable distinction, together with the other heads of houses, appointed him a speaker, with Mr. Bragge, the Earl of Dartmouth, Sir George Shuckburgh, Evelyn, and others, at the *Encœnia*; when Lord North first presided in person as chancellor of Oxford. Upon that occasion, it will



be recollected by many, that Mr. Knox met with great applause, as well from the manner in which he delivered a copy of Latin verses, as from the merit of the verses themselves, which (contrary to what usually takes place) were known to have been the speaker's composition. It was here that he gave an early specimen of those elocutionary talents, that have gained him the reputation of one of the first pulpit orators of the age, and of that taste which has placed him among the most celebrated of our *belles lettres* writers. Before he left the University, and previous to his taking his bachelor's degree, he composed several essays as college exercises, for the sake of improvement; and (as we are informed in the preface) when they accumulated to a number sufficient to make a volume, he debated a moment whether he should commit them to the flames or send them as a present, without a name, to a London publisher. The last deliberation prevailed; the collection was transmitted to Mr. Edward Dilly, by whom the volume was published anonymously under the title of "Essays Moral and Literary," royal octavo. The success of this work was unequivocal. A second edition was soon called for, and the author was induced not only to add another volume, but also to prefix his name. Instead of presenting our readers with a formal criticism on these very pleasant and popular volumes, we shall extract one or two, of what we consider the most interesting essays of the series. The following paper is not inapplicable at the present day.

ON THE IMPROPRIETY OF PUBLICLY ADOPTING A NEW  
TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE.

"The translators of our Bible, it is allowed, had great merit; but, as nothing is begun and perfected at the same time, it is not surprising that the translation is not exempt from the characteristic of all human undertakings. Critics, assisted by the labours of the translators, have prosecuted their enquiries into the Hebrew text, and have detected errors in it which they are willing to magnify into importance. Manuscripts have been collated, and the Hebrew text at last

ascertained, (as far as human ingenuity can ascertain it,) there seems at the completion of the labour, to be a wish among the critics for a new translation.

“For my own part, if I may venture to give an opinion, contrary to that of the profound collators of Hebrew manuscripts, I cannot help thinking a new translation of the Bible an attempt extremely dangerous, and quite unnecessary. Instead of serving the cause of religion, which is the ostensible motive for the wish, I am convinced that nothing would tend more immediately to shake the basis of the establishment.

“Time gives a venerable air to all things, to men, to trees, to buildings, and to books. Sacred things acquire peculiar sanctity by long duration. A new church, with all the embellishments of Grecian architecture, is far less venerable than the gothic tower overgrown with moss. The present translation of the Bible derives an advantage from its antiquity, greatly superior to any which could arise from the correction of its inaccuracies.

“Imagine a Roman senator or warrior, dressed out like a powdered beau of modern times: much more ease is bestowed on him in his present dress. He is nicely and accurately arrayed in every part. But what is the result? He is now pretty, and before he was majestic. Just so, were the Bible corrected and modernized, it would probably become more showy, and, perhaps, quite exact: but it would lose that air of sanctity, which enables it to make an impression which no accuracy could produce.

“We have received the Bible in the words it now stands from our fathers; we have learned many passages of it by heart in our infancy; we find it quoted in sermons from the earliest to the latest times; so that its phrase is become familiar to our ear, and we cease to be startled at apparent difficulties. Let all this be called prejudice; but it is a prejudice which universally prevails in the middle and lower ranks; and we should hardly recognize the Bible were it read in our churches in any other words than our fathers heard before us.

“It is true, indeed, that some very devout and well-meaning

people carry their prejudice too far, when they profess to believe that our translation was written with the finger of the Almighty, and that to alter a tittle of it is to be guilty of blasphemy. But still, as the faith of such persons is strong, and their intentions pious, it would be imprudent to shock their minds by an innovation, which they could not help considering as an insult on Heaven. If the lessons in the church were to be read in different words from those that they have heard from their infancy, their faith might be more endangered than by all the arguments of the deists. And such persons, though the sarcastic may stigmatise them as weak brethren, are too valuable members to be cut off from the body of the church.

“ But forbearing to urge the air of veneration acquired by time, or the attachments formed by prejudice to the Bible, I cannot help thinking that the present translation ought to be retained in our churches for its intrinsic beauty and excellence. We have had one specimen of a new translation of the Bible by a very learned and ingenious bishop. It is exact and curious; but I will venture to say it approaches not to the majesty, sublimity, and fire of the old translation. A reader, after going through it, will not, upon the whole, receive so deep and lasting an impression from it, as from the old one with all its imperfections. And it is from the general effect of a work that its excellence must be estimated.

“ The poetical passages of Scripture are peculiarly pleasing in the present translation. The language, though it is simple and natural, is rich and expressive. Solomon’s Song, difficult as it is to be interpreted, may be read with delight, even if we attend to little else than the brilliancy of the diction; and it is a circumstance which increases its grace, that it appears to be quite unstudied. The Psalms, as well as the whole Bible, are literally translated; and yet that translation abounds with passages exquisitely beautiful, and irresistibly transporting. Even where the sense is not very clear, nor the connexion of ideas obvious at first sight, the mind is soothed, and the ear ravished, with the powerful, yet unaffected, charms of the style. It is not, indeed, necessary to enlarge on the excel-



lence of the translation in general; for its beauties are such as are to be recognised by feeling more than by description, and it must be owned, that they have been powerfully felt by the majority of the nation ever since the first edition. In many a cottage and farm-house, where the Bible and Prayer Book constitute the library, the sweet songs of Judah, and the entertaining histories of Joseph and his brethren, Saul and Jonathan, constitute a never-failing source of heartfelt pleasure.

“It is false refinement, vain philosophy, and an immoderate love of dissipation, which causes so little attention to be paid to this venerable book in the gay world. If we do not disclaim all belief in its contents, it is surely a great omission in many gentlemen and ladies who wish to be completely accomplished, or think themselves so already, to be utterly unacquainted with the sacred volume. It is our duty to inspect it; and it is graciously so ordered, that our duty in this instance may be a pleasure; for the Bible is truly pleasing, considered only as a collection of very ancient and curious history and poetry.

“With respect to the impropriety of appointing a new translation to be read in churches, what I have advanced on the subject is only matter of opinion, and may perhaps be found, in the event, erroneous. I shall, however, very confidently say, that innovations of this kind are of the highest importance, and may probably be attended with the most violent concussions. They ought, therefore, to be attempted only where there is an absolute necessity for them, and after the maturest deliberation.”

The essay we are about to quote from the same work, are on subjects of interest, and written with considerable smartness.

#### ON MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS.

“It was the early wish of Pope, that, when he died, not a stone might tell where he lay. It is a wish that will be commonly granted with reluctance. The affection of those we leave behind us, is at a loss for methods to display its wonted

solicitude, and seeks for consolation under sorrow in doing honor to all that remains. It is natural that filial piety, parental tenderness, and conjugal love, should mark, with some fond memorial, the clay-cold spot, where the form, still fostered in the bosom, moulders away. And did affection go no farther, who could censure? But, in recording the virtues of the departed, either zeal or vanity often leads to an excess perfectly ludicrous.

“A marble monument, with an inscription palpably false and ridiculously pompous, is far more offensive to true taste, than the wooden memorial of the rustic, sculptured with painted bones, and decked out with death’s head in all the colours of the rainbow. There is an elegance and a classical simplicity in the turf-clad heap of mould which covers the poor man’s grave, though it has nothing to defend it from the insults of the proud but a bramble. The primrose that grows upon it is a better ornament, than the gilded lies on the oppressor’s tombstone.

“The prostitution of praise is injurious to virtue. That imaginary life after death, which consists in a remembrance of our worth cherished in the breasts of others, though it is despised by the severe reasoner, has commonly been an additional motive for exertion to the noblest spirits that have dignified human nature. But when we see the studied panegyric engraven on the marble that encloses the remains of the worthless, we despise the eulogium that mankind are mean enough to bestow on every one that will pay the price. Thus one powerful motive is lost, which might operate on the generous, in stimulating them to a worthy conduct.

“On the tombstones of the truly great, it is certainly right that an inscription should be written consistent with their dignity. In order to be so, it must not be prolix. When their names and age make all the sepulchral history of distinguished personages, it seems to be implied that the rest is sufficiently known; but when the marble ambitiously enlarges on their excellence, it argues that the world wants the information. It is better that the passenger, when he sees an eminent name,

should recollect, while he strikes his pensive bosom, the virtues of its owner, than that his remarks should be anticipated by an obtruding narrative.

“ The style of epitaphs usually adopted has been too diffuse. The noble ancients, those patterns of unaffected magnificence, consulted real dignity in the brevity of their epitaphs. As an historical monument, at an age when printing was unknown, they sometimes engraved the exploits of the warrior on the marble; but in general they recorded little more than the name of the departed. The Grecian muse sometimes poured the sweet melody of verse at the shrine of a poet or a hero; but she never condescended to mean flattery, nor displayed the bloated ostentation of a modern panegyric.

“ There are many excellent epitaphs in the English language, both in verse and prose. In the diffuse kind, that on the infamous Chartres is a fine model. Westminster Abbey exhibits many inscriptions, written with manly, forcible, and energetic elegance. The great fault has been, a redundancy of epithets in the superlative degree.

“ We have also many fine poetical epitaphs. Those of Dryden and Pope are the most deservedly celebrated; though those of Pope have been severely criticised. In general the metrical are inferior to the prosaic. Some of the best are crowded with antitheses, a fault which renders them inferior to the Grecian; and some of the worst, many of which are found in the most public cemeteries, stand forth a disgrace to national taste. The love of rhyme descends to the lowest ranks. The parish-clerk is commonly called upon for a stave or two of verses, by every rustic that can raise a post and rail, to the memory of his relation; and there are few church-yards in England where that favourite stanza, “ Affliction sore, long time I bore,” &c. does not occur more than once.

“ But our epitaphs are most commonly written in Latin; probably because it is intelligible to foreigners, and is capable of more elegance and elevation. Our country has produced many writers remarkable for beautiful latinity: accordingly we



find inscriptions in every part of the kingdom abounding with classical expressions. The misfortune has been, that many of them have encroached on the province of biography, and real dignity has been lost in the affectation of it, in a tedious and circumstantial detail of descents, pedigrees, and relationships. The reader is tired before he has obtained a clear idea of the character and family described. His eyes have failed, even if his attention persevered. The epitaph on the great Nelson, for instance, consists of above eighty lines.

“ The punning and epigrammatic epitaph was much in fashion a century or two ago. That on fair Rosamond, at Godstone, might surely have been replete with tender sentiment, but it is merely a wretched distich of puns and monkish rhymes. This species is at present quite exploded, and little need be said to prove its great impropriety. False wit is always misplaced, but the true seems to be excluded from the epitaph. Who can bear merriment or buffoonery on a tombstone? The tender and elegiac, or the manly and severe style, seems to be best adapted to the monumental inscription. But neither the pathetic or sublime is compatible with the ludicrous.

“ The authors of our epitaphs are seldom known. One of the best that I can recollect, was the classical Bourne. The few he has left us are master-pieces. That in Westminster Abbey, on Dickenson, the architect, is truly sublime.

“ In our island there has certainly been no dearth of genius for monumental inscriptions; though there is one circumstance, which might induce a foreigner to think the contrary. The famous Duchess of Marlborough is said to have offered, without success, 500*l.* for an epitaph adequate to the dignity of her Duke. Her Grace, whose taste was not very just, would probably have expected a history long enough to cover with inscription the unwieldy pile of stones called Blenheim House. I cannot help thinking, that a tedious epitaph, minutely relating his achievements, would rather lessen than exalt him in the eyes of mankind. Would not Alexander the Great have appeared rather beneath the dignity of that name, if it had been

written on his tomb, that the son of Philip was reputed to have been, in his day, the wisest general, the boldest hero, the most accomplished man, with a hundred other attributes. Would he have excited much admiration, if he had been handed down to us, merely in an epitaph abounding with those inflated superlatives, which gothic ideas of grandeur have now introduced? It might have been a complimentary epitaph on an alderman, who died of repletion; and would have borne an analogy to him in the circumstance of an unnatural tumour !”

In 1778 Mr. Knox was elected master of Tunbridge School; an appointment which he held with the highest credit for thirty-three years. About the time of his first settling at Tunbridge in this capacity, he married the daughter of Mr. Miller, a respectable surgeon of that place, who died in 1809, leaving behind her two sons and a daughter. A short time after his marriage, Mr. Knox accepted the degree of doctor of divinity, conferred upon him by a diploma from Philadelphia, without solicitation, in the handsomest manner, as a compliment for the benefit America had derived from his admirable essays; which had been exceedingly popular in that country.

The next work of Dr. Knox was his celebrated treatise on “ Liberal Education ;” a subject he was especially qualified to discuss. This production, like those which had preceded it by the same author, was very favourably received by the public. On this occasion Dr. Knox evinced an independence of sentiment, which might have proved injurious to his worldly interests. In pointing out the defects in the education of youth in this country, he could not consistently pass over the gross abuses of his own university. It was not a slight exposition that could have availed to produce any reformation at Oxford. Perhaps in his zealous desire to effect the object he had in view, the Doctor was hurried, in one or two instances, a little beyond the strict limits of candour. However this may have been, it is certain that his aim was in part accomplished ; for, after the publication of his represent-

ations, many improvements were made in the code of discipline at Oxford. In a subsequent edition of the same work, Dr. Knox addressed a letter to Lord North, then chancellor of the university: this gave rise to a pamphlet, censuring Dr. Knox for his interference; but as we have no wish to meddle with the bitterness of controversy, we shall abstain from all comment upon it. It is quite clear that the heads of the college had discovered some justice in the Doctor's argument, or they would not have felt it incumbent upon them to make the alterations which took place, soon after the appearance of his book, in the discipline of the university.

In 1787 Dr. Knox published a series of miscellaneous papers, entitled "Winter Evenings," in three volumes, octavo. They have passed through several editions, although they have not, on the whole, been as popular as those which preceded them. They contain a great deal of agreeable discussion on a variety of subjects, mostly connected with literature and the fine arts.

The "Elegant Extracts in Prose and Verse," next occupied the attention of Dr. Knox; and the extraordinary popularity of these useful compilations must have been highly gratifying to the tasteful and judicious editor. The "Elegant Epistles" were also subsequently collected by our author, who, besides these valuable works, edited an edition of Horace, upon the *expurgata* plan. It would have been well if his example had been followed by other editors; for it is a scandal to the country, that the books commonly put into the hands of young persons for the purposes of education, are precisely of a nature to debauch and deprave their minds. It is difficult to conceive why we permit our children to have access to the most revolting obscenities, for so unsatisfactory a reason as that of their being written in the dead languages. The purest of the Latin poets is not without his indecencies. What then are we to expect from such writers as Ovid, Horace, Juvenal, Perseus, Tibullus, and the like? A radical reform in the system of education would seem, even at this late period, to be imperiously called for.



In 1793 an event occurred in the life of Dr. Knox, which has been the subject of much misrepresentation. It seems that a sermon, preached by him at Brighton, at the time when this country was in a general ferment in consequence of the French revolution, gave so much offence to a portion of the congregation before whom it was delivered, that upon the doctor's appearance at the theatre a few evenings afterwards, he was very roughly treated, and, we believe, obliged to leave the house.

The doctrine insisted upon in this celebrated sermon was, that "*offensive war is a high crime against humanity and christianity.*" But whether it contained allusions, as ill-timed and improper as his enemies have represented, we cannot undertake to decide. The best way of exculpating himself from blame, and silencing his antagonists would have been for the Doctor to have published the sermon. This would have settled the question at once.

About this period Dr. Knox is said to have published some political tracts, advocating, for the most part, the popular side in politics. The sentiments of the doctor were decidedly those of the Whigs; and the steadiness and consistency to which he adhered through life to his early opinions, was such as to entitle him to the respect of all parties.

Mr. Fox sought his acquaintance; and there is no doubt, if political events had afforded the opportunity, but that Dr. Knox would have filled the highest station in the church. Preferment, however, was not his object, nor ever occupied his thoughts. He was, from conscientious conviction, a firm friend of the establishment. His strenuous support of its doctrines in his theological works, excited the hostility of the Socinians and other separatists. Dr. Disney addressed a letter to him upon the publication of his sermons. On the other hand, though of political sentiments diametrically opposite, that distinguished prelate, Bishop Horsley, publicly eulogised his treatise on the "Lord's Supper," in his episcopal charges, "recommending it to the general attention of the clergy, and describing it as no inconsiderable monument of the

learning and piety of the writer." Another prelate, of inferior reputation, indeed, to Dr. Horsley, as a polemic, and divine, but justly held in universal esteem for his amiable character and his useful labours in the church, Bishop Porteus, entertained a high sense of the value of Dr. Knox's religious works, and recommended them for perusal, as containing the most attractive delineations of the pure spirit of christianity. Notwithstanding his strong attachment to the establishment, Dr. Knox was a friend to religious as well as civil liberty, and therefore an advocate for a very liberal toleration. Entertaining much respect for the private character of the late Bishop Dampier, he felt it his duty publicly to protest against an address, which that Bishop proposed for the adoption of the clergy of the diocese of Rochester, at a visitation, thanking the crown for requiring a pledge from administration, that they would never again agitate the Catholic question. He was aware, that differences of opinion might very conscientiously be entertained upon what is called Catholic emancipation; but thought, that with proper securities, that it was contrary to sound policy and justice, no less than to the benign spirit of the gospel, to impose civil disabilities upon so many millions of the Christian subjects of the United Kingdom, merely because they remain faithful to the religion of their forefathers.

Dr. Knox's facility of composition was remarkable. He wrote Latin with the most classical purity in prose and verse, and was particularly happy in epigrammatic point. He was a great student of the harmony of language, forming his sentences invariably with a regard to rhythmical proportion. His style displays an union of force with exquisite polish. As a standard of his powers as a writer, as well as a specimen of the energy of his mind, his last production (the pamphlet upon classical education) may be fairly taken. To a splendour of diction that has rarely been equalled, there is added an harmony in the periods that is perhaps exclusively his own. The style as well as the matter of the "Essays" has long been universally admired. They appeared, originally, in one volume, in the lifetime of Dr. Johnson. In speaking of them to Mr. Dilly,

the publisher, that great critic expressed himself in terms of high panegyric, and predicted the future reputation of the author.

Dr. Knox was rector of Rumwell and Ramsden Crays, in Essex, (of which livings he was the patron,) and minister of the Chapelry of Shipbourne, in Kent, to which he was presented by the late Viscount Vane. The duties of a parish priest he discharged for nearly forty years with a regularity, an ability, and a zeal, seldom surpassed; scarcely during that long period requiring any assistance in the performance of the service of the church. After his retirement, while he lived in London, (the situation of his benefices in Essex not permitting residence,) he never withheld his powerful aid from the pulpit, whenever it was solicited in favour of the various charities with which the metropolis abounds. There are few of these institutions which have not greatly benefitted by his exertions. As a preacher he will long be remembered. His matter was always excellent; and his manner possessed a dignity, propriety, and impressiveness, that rivetted the attention of his congregations. He enjoyed a long course of uninterrupted health, and retained his mental faculties in their full vigour to the last moment of his life; within the three last days of it, he was as capable as ever of any laborious literary research, or professional exertion. The cause of his death, which took place while on a visit to his son at Tunbridge, Kent, September 6th, was an obstruction in the bowels, that resisted all medical treatment.

In person Dr. Knox was about the middle size, his countenance dark, and his eye thoughtful and expressive.

*The following is, we believe, a correct list of the Works of  
Doctor Knox:*

1. Essays, Moral and Literary, in 1 vol. 12mo. 1777. — The success of this work encouraged its republication and acknowledgement, with additions; 2 vols. 12mo. 1778; since which time it has gone through numerous editions.



2. Liberal Education, or a Practical Treatise on the Methods of acquiring Useful and Polite Learning; 8vo. 1781. This treatise was enlarged to 2 vols. 8vo. 1785.
3. Elegant Extracts, in prose; 8vo. 1783.
4. Elegant Extracts, in verse; 8vo. 1790.
5. Sermons intended to promote Faith, Hope, and Charity; 8vo. 1792.
6. Elegant Epistles; 8vo. 1792.
7. Personal Nobility, or a Letter to a Young Nobleman; 12mo. 1793.
8. A Narrative of Transactions relative to a Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Brighton, August, 1793; 8vo.
9. Antipolemus, or a Plea against War, translated from Erasmus; 12mo. 1794.
10. Family Lectures; in one large vol. 8vo. 1794.
11. Christian Philosophy; 2 vols. 12mo. 1795.
12. Considerations on the Nature and Efficacy of the Lord's Supper; 12mo. 1794. — At the request of Bishop Horsley, the author published a cheap edition of this book.
13. A Sermon, preached at the Opening of the Philanthropic Society; 4to. 1807.

## No. VII.

## JAMES HARRIS, EARL OF MALMESBURY;

BARON OF MALMESBURY AND VISCOUNT FITZHARRIS; KNIGHT  
GRAND CROSS OF THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE  
BATH; ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY  
COUNCIL; AND LORD LIEUTENANT AND CUSTOS ROTULORUM  
OF THE COUNTY OF SOUTHAMPTON.

THE Earl of Malmesbury, was the son of James Harris, Esq. of the Close, Salisbury; who for several years represented the borough of Christ Church in parliament, and filled the offices of Commissioner of the Admiralty and Treasury, and of Secretary and Comptroller to the Queen. This gentleman was well known in the literary world, as the author of "Three treatises," on music, painting, poetry, and happiness; "Hermes;" "Philosophical Arrangements;" and "Philological Enquiries."

James, first Earl of Malmesbury, the subject of the present memoir, was born on the 9th April, O.S. 1746. He was educated under Dr. Wharton, at Winchester school; from whence he was removed to Merton College, Oxford, where he took the degree of D. C. L. After quitting Oxford he passed some time at the university of Leyden.

Having made choice of the diplomatic line, he went in 1768 to the Hague, where he lived, during several months, on an intimate and friendly footing with Sir Joseph Yorke, his Majesty's ambassador to their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces; under whose protection, and aided by whose experience, he laid the foundation of those acquirements, by which he was, at a more advanced period of life, so eminently distinguished.

In the same year, his Lordship was appointed secretary of

embassy, under Sir James Gray, at Madrid; and in July, 1769, on the recal of that ambassador, was left *chargé des affaires* at that court.

The discussions which arose between Spain and Great Britain, relative to the Falkland Islands, and which, at one time, threatened the most serious consequences, afforded a favourable opportunity for the display of his talents; and gave, throughout the whole course of an arduous and delicate negotiation, an early promise of that happy mixture of temper, conciliation and firmness, by which, in after life, all his public transactions were marked; and which enabled him, finally, to bring the negotiation to a happy issue.

His services on this important occasion were duly estimated at home; and, in 1771, he was nominated minister plenipotentiary, till the arrival of Lord Grantham as ambassador.

In 1772 he received the appointment of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Great Frederick of Prussia; and he continued to reside at Berlin in that character till 1776.

In 1777 he married Harriet Mary, daughter of Sir George Amyard, Bart. by whom he had issue three sons and two daughters.

In the same year he was accredited envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of St. Petersburg. He remained there till towards the close of the year 1782. During the whole of this period, our protracted warfare with our American colonies, and the distracted state of our councils at home, together with the active part taken by the Empress Catherine in the affairs of Europe, rendered the situation of a minister at that court one of extreme delicacy and importance; and although he was not able to prevent the court of St. Petersburg from forming the armed neutrality, he mainly contributed, by his influence and address, to divest it of much of its hostile effects.

In 1778 he was made Knight of the Bath, and was invested with that order by the hand of the empress; who, also, in



the following year, stood godmother to his daughter, who was named after her imperial majesty.

He sat in parliament during many years, as member for the borough of Christ Church.

In the year 1784 he was sent, with the rank of ambassador in ordinary to their High Mightinesses the States General; and afterwards was raised to that of ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary.

The troubles which, from the violence of party, broke out in Holland in the year 1787, afforded him an opportunity of displaying the sagacity of his mind, and the energy and decision of his character. By his activity and address, his carriage and firmness, during that arduous and eventful period, he greatly contributed to defeat the views of the revolutionary faction in Holland, to restore the legitimate power of the stadtholder, and to overthrow the influence of France in that republic. The immediate advantage which resulted from this favourable change of affairs was, besides those already mentioned, the renewal of the ancient connexion between Great Britain and Holland.

So highly, indeed, were his services estimated on this occasion, that the King of Prussia gave him permission to introduce the Prussian eagle, as an honourable augmentation to his arms; and the Prince of Orange allowed him to use the motto of the house of Nassau, "*Je maintiendrai.*"

At home, his services were rewarded with the peerage, under the title of Baron Malmesbury, of Malmesbury, in the county of Wilts, on the 19th September, 1788.

From this period to the year 1793 his Lordship was unemployed: but on the breaking out of the war of the French revolution, Lord Malmesbury did not hesitate an instant as to the line of conduct which it behoved him to adopt. The natural acuteness of his mind, aided by his long experience, and his thorough knowledge of mankind, enabled him to form a correct notion of the fatal consequences which must result from the disorganizing system pursued by France. His

opposition to it was firm, steady, and consistent; never allowing himself to be disheartened by ill success, nor too much elated by good fortune. His intimacy with the Duke of Portland and his party, afforded him the means of contributing to effect that union between them and Mr. Pitt, which enabled that great and patriotic minister to save his country from the immediate dangers that menaced it; and laid the foundation of that systematic resistance to French aggression, which ultimately led to the deliverance of Europe.

At this period he was sent to Berlin to negotiate a treaty of subsidy with Prussia; and he was afterwards accredited to the Prussian army on the Rhine. Here he remained till the close of 1794, when his Lordship received his Majesty's commands to repair to Brunswick, to demand in marriage her Serene Highness the Princess Caroline of Brunswick, for his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; and had the charge of conducting her Royal Highness to England.

During the years 1796 and 1797 his Lordship was employed in two separate negotiations for peace at Paris and Lille. The circumstances of the times caused these negotiations to be viewed with the deepest interest and anxiety; and although they both eventually failed, the skill and address with which they were conducted on the part of his Lordship, and, at the same time, the firm and dignified, yet temperate, manner in which they were carried on, and which, at one time, in the course of the last of these negotiations, held out well-founded hopes of ultimate success, will ever remain a proof that they could not have been entrusted to a more able negotiator, or to one who could have better repressed the arrogance of a haughty enemy with mildness and dignity, or have upheld the honour and true interests of his country with more spirit and firmness.

The papers laid before parliament by his Majesty's command, on the rupture of these negotiations, will ever remain a lasting monument of his Lordship's profound views as a statesman, and of his skill and address as a negotiator.

On the 29th December, 1800, his Majesty was pleased to create him Earl of Malmesbury and Viscount Fitzharris, of Heron Court, in the county of Southampton; and in August, 1807, he was appointed his Majesty's lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the same county. His son, Lord Viscount Fitzharris, was, at the same time, named governor and vice-admiral of the Isle of Wight, for life.

His Lordship has acquired a title to be ranked among the *literati* of the present age, by a splendid edition, in quarto, of the works of his father, James Harris, one of the most elegant and profound scholars of his time. To this he has prefixed a brief, but well-written, life of the learned author, which at once evinces the elegance of a scholar and the affection of a son. This work was, by permission, dedicated to his late Majesty; and the dedication does equal honor to the sovereign and the subject.

His Lordship departed this life November 21st, 1820, in the 75th year of his age, at his house, in Hill-street, Berkeley-square.

After what has been already said, his Lordship's character may be summed up in few words.

Gifted by nature with an acute and penetrating mind, he acquired by habits of deep reflection, matured by long experience, a thorough knowledge of the interests of his country and of Europe, as well as of the most distinguished statesmen of the age. In all his public transactions, he added to manners the most engaging, a deportment the most dignified; and to a spirit the most conciliating, a character the most firm and decided: and, above all, a command of temper, which no language could ruffle, nor any provocation for a moment throw off its guard. This self-possession gave him, on many important occasions, a most decided advantage, of which the superiority of his talents enabled him, not unfrequently, to avail himself with the happiest effect. All his views were those of a statesman, and all his wishes were directed towards the happiness, the prosperity, and the glory of his country.



## No. VIII.

## MRS. INCHBALD.

THIS lady, known for a long series of years to the public as a pleasing dramatic writer and novelist, was born at Staningfield, a village in the neighbourhood of Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk. Her father, whose name was Simpson, had a large family of daughters, remarkable for their personal beauty. Owing to an unfortunate impediment in her speech, Elizabeth, the subject of the present notice, went very little into society; but passed her time for the most part in retirement and study.

Having lost her father in her infancy, she was left under the care of her mother, who continued to manage the farm; and, in the pleasant seclusion of this cottage home, Miss Simpson was presented with abundant opportunities of gratifying her literary propensities. So sensibly had her imagination been wrought upon by the tales of fictitious grief and happiness she had met with in the course of her desultory reading, that she formed the romantic resolution of visiting the metropolis, the scene of many of the stories which had so powerfully excited her sympathies. This intention did not, as may be supposed, meet with the approbation of her friends; but so fixed was her determination to accomplish *à tout prix*, the object she had in view, that she seized an opportunity of eloping from her home, entirely without the knowledge of her family. Early one morning in February, 1772, left Staningfield for London; and with a few necessary articles of apparel, packed in a band-box, walked, or rather ran a distance of two miles, to the place from whence the coach set out for the metropolis.

This step, in a girl of sixteen years of age, did not augur very favourably of her future conduct and respectability; but the subsequent tenor of her life affords additional proof, that

very admirable results will often arise out of indifferent, and even reprehensible, beginnings. On her arrival in London, she sought a distant relation, who lived in the Strand; but, on reaching the house, was, to her great mortification, informed that she had retired from business, and was settled in North Wales. It was near ten o'clock at night, and her distress at this disappointment, moved the compassion of the people of whom she had made her enquiries, who kindly accommodated her with a lodging. This civility, however, awakened her suspicions: she had read in *Clarissa Harlowe*, of various modes of seduction practised in London, and feared that similar intentions were meditating against her. A short time after her arrival, therefore, observing that she had awakened their curiosity, our young heroine seized her band-box, and, without uttering a single word, rushed out of the house, and left them to their conjectures, that she was either a maniac or an impostor.

Miss Simpson (says the writer of a notice of her life in the *Monthly Mirror*) run she knew not whither; but being much fatigued and alarmed, knocked at a house where she saw 'lodgings to let,' and was just on the point of being admitted as a milliner's apprentice, when, to her great surprise and confusion, she saw at her elbow the tradesman from whose house she had just escaped, and who, impelled by curiosity, had followed her. Confounded by this detection, she attempted another escape, but the door was locked, and she was detained as an impostor. Sincerity was all that she had now left, and, with a flood of tears, she candidly confessed her real situation; but even now her truth was doubted; and, after a threat of being sent to the watch-house, the fair adventurer was dismissed, and left again to wander through the streets of London.

She now walked where chance directed, exposed to all those insults which unprotected females must expect to encounter. At two o'clock in the morning she found herself at Holborn Bridge, and seeing the stage set off for York, which she understood was full, she entered the inn, pretended that she was a disappointed passenger, and solicited a lodging. Here she remained for the night, and the next day was told that the York

stage would set off again in the evening. This intelligence having been delivered with an air of suspicion, which was extremely mortifying, she immediately took out all the money she had, to the last half-crown, and absolutely paid for a journey she did not intend to take. The landlady, now satisfied, invited her to breakfast, but this she declined, saying she was in haste to visit a relation. Thus she escaped the expense of a breakfast, and, on returning to the inn, stated that her relation wished her to remain in town a few days longer. By this means she secured her apartment, and while she daily took a walk to purchase what she could afford, it was supposed by the people of the inn, that she was feasting with her friend; but, alas! at this time she feasted not, but was in the utmost distress; so much so, that during the last two days of her residence at the inn, she subsisted on two halfpenny rolls, and the water which the bottle in her bed-room contained!

During one of her daily rambles in the metropolis, Miss Simpson attracted the notice of a performer at Drury Lane, who, with some difficulty, learning her situation, recommended to her the stage as the most probable means of support, and offered to instruct her. A few meetings having convinced her that his designs were not honourable, she prudently declined his company, but determined to follow his advice. Accordingly, she applied to Mr. King of Drury Lane, the manager of the Bristol theatre, and having communicated her intention with much stammering, which was increased by her anxiety, the comedian listened to the fair candidate with natural astonishment. She rehearsed a part before him, and many whimsical jests have been related respecting this interview. It seems, however, that Mr. King did not discourage the young lady, though he declined to give her an engagement. She next applied to Mr. Inchbald for advice. This gentleman, with whom she had hitherto been unacquainted, but whom she had frequently seen at Bury St. Edmunds, introduced her to another performer, who had purchased a share of a country theatre, and who, struck with her beauty, gave her an immediate engagement without trial. He became also her in-



structor, and in him she imagined she had found a friend: but she soon discovered the nature of his friendship. Indignant at the dishonourable proposals which he dared to make to her, she hastened to Mr. Inchbald, whose kindness had inspired her with confidence, and informed him of every circumstance. Afflicted by her sorrow, this gentleman endeavoured to soothe it, and recommended marriage as her only protection. "But who would marry me?" cried she. "I would," replied Mr. Inchbald with warmth, "if you would have me?" "Yes, Sir, and would for ever be grateful." "And for ever love me?" rejoined he. The lady hesitated; but not doubting her love, in a few days they were married, and thus unexpectedly she became both a wife and an actress.

Mr. Inchbald first introduced his wife on the stage at Edinburgh, where she continued four years, and performed the principal characters, when she was but eighteen years of age; from which, it may be inferred, that her previous unsuccessful attempts had proceeded principally from natural impediments and private prejudices. For one who could with only tolerable success, appear at so early a period as a principal actress, must have possessed a considerable degree of intellect, and no common insight into the human character.

At length Mrs. Yates, who had been long in possession of the public favour in London, visited Edinburgh, and became the formidable rival of Mrs. Inchbald, whom she is said to have treated with great incivility; in consequence of which, she and her husband quitted Edinburgh, and passed two years at York.

Mrs. Inchbald's health being now much impaired, a tour to the south of France was recommended, and, after staying abroad about a year, she returned with her husband, with whom she lived in the most perfect harmony. Two years afterwards Mr. Inchbald died, when she returned to London, and continued to act for four years at Covent Garden theatre. She next visited Dublin, and performed under Mr. Dalby's management for some time.

On quitting the Dublin theatre, Mrs. Inchbald returned

once more to Covent Garden, where she continued to act for some years, but suddenly relinquished it, and remained in London in great poverty and obscurity.

It was at this juncture that Mrs. Inchbald first began to devote her attention to dramatic composition. Having written a comedy, she read part of it to the late Mr. Harris of Covent Garden theatre, who, disapproving the piece, sent it anonymously to Mr. Colman, the manager of the Haymarket; and in his hands it remained unnoticed for several years. Notwithstanding this manifest discouragement in the outset of her literary career, she continued to persevere, and, availing herself of the rage for balloons, which prevailed in the year 1784, she sent him a farce, entitled "The Mogul Tale." This piece was read, approved, and accepted. Its success with the public induced Mrs. Inchbald to remind Colman of the neglected comedy; on which he immediately replied, "I'll go home this moment and read it." He did so; and conceiving that it would answer his purpose, gave it the name of "I'll tell you What," and brought it out with deserved success, in 1785.

The prospects of Mrs. Inchbald now began to assume a brighter aspect. She changed her humble lodgings for others more suitable to her circumstances; for it was one great excellence in the conduct of this amiable woman, that she ever accommodated her mode of living to her means, preserving always, even in her humblest fortunes, a high sense of moral dignity and independence.

The comedy of "I'll tell you What," was soon followed by others of a similar character, that of genteel comedy, Mrs. Inchbald having never attempted either tragedy or tragicomedy.

In 1789 Mrs. Inchbald retired altogether from the stage, and from that period until the year 1805, it will be seen she was very actively employed in dramatic writing. In 1806 she undertook to edit a new edition of "The British Theatre, with Biographical and Critical Remarks." This work, which consists of upwards of a hundred plays, acted at the Theatres Royal, was published in twenty-five volumes 12mo., between the years

1806 and 1809. These were followed by "A Collection of Farces" on the same plan; and "The Modern Theatre," in ten volumes.

Nor did Mrs. Inchbald confine herself exclusively to dramatic composition; she was equally successful as a novel writer. The pleasing tale, entitled "Nature and Art," Mrs. Inchbald has not thought proper to designate a novel: it must, however, be considered as belonging to that class of writing. The story is interesting; the characters are accurately drawn, and the morality unexceptionable. The satire is just, the language is sprightly, but not fantastic, and the reflections are serious without being affected.

The "Simple Story," a novel, in four volumes, by Mrs. Inchbald, is characterised by the same simplicity and spirit, both as to style and manner as the former; but the characters are more various, the passions more interesting, and the plot is more intricate and surprising. This, beyond doubt, is the *chef d'œuvre* of all Mrs. Inchbald's productions; it was also the favourite work of the authoress, which is not surprising, since we are informed that the leading incidents of her own life have furnished the basis of some part of the story, though diversified by numerous peculiarities, and concealed with much ingenuity.

Of Mrs. Inchbald's private character it is hardly possible to speak in too encomiastic terms. During the whole period of her theatrical engagements, she maintained an unblemished reputation; and, although the incidents of her early life have been the subject of much conversation in the fashionable world, yet there never was any thing in her subsequent conduct which could deserve the frown of even the most rigid moralist. She was kind and benevolent in the extreme, and ever ready to minister to the necessities and comforts of her fellow-creatures. She was in the habit of associating with persons of the first respectability. Mrs. Siddons and Lady Derby were particularly attached to her.

Mrs. Inchbald died at a boarding-house at Kensington, on the 1st of August 1821, where she had resided for some years. She had written memoirs of her life, but left a strict injunction



tion that they should be destroyed immediately after her decease. We know not how far this desire has been complied with; we trust that it has not. Such a work could not fail of being interesting, although we are informed that this piece of auto-biography is only brought up to the period of her arrival in London; so that by far the most important period of her life is left without illustration. Her remains were deposited in Kensington church-yard, agreeably with her request in her will.

This will was registered in the Prerogative Court on the 17th inst. Probate being granted to Frances Phillips (wife of John Phillips) and George Huggins, (her nephew,) the executors. Her personal property was sworn to be under 6000*l.* in value. Amongst the legacies are, 50*l.* to the Covent Garden Theatrical Fund; 50*l.* to Mrs. Isabella Mattocks, late of that theatre; 100*l.* to the testatrix's god-daughter, Miss Cummins, of the Theatre Royal, York; and 20*l.* per annum to a person calling himself Robert Inchbald, the illegitimate son of her late husband; 50*l.* to the Catholic Society, for the relief of the aged poor; 20*l.* each to her late *laundress and hairdresser*, *provided they should inquire of her executors concerning her decease*; 100*l.* to Mr. Taylor, oculist, of the Sun Office, in the Strand, &c. &c. The residue is bequeathed to her nephew and niece, George Huggins and Ann Jarrett. The testatrix desired to be buried in Kensington church-yard, between the hours of eight and eleven in the morning; that three mourning coaches should attend her hearse; and that mass and other sacred ceremonies should be performed, usual upon the decease of a Roman Catholic Christian. The will is written with her own hand, and dated the 30th of April, 1821.

The following character of Mrs. Inchbald, by Mr. Taylor, editor of the Sun newspaper, who was for a long series of years intimately acquainted with her, will serve as an apt *finale* to this notice, which has been derived almost entirely from the respectable pages of the Monthly Mirror.

“ Her mind had an original cast, and her literary style was peculiar, terse, pointed, and impressive. By exemplary in-

dustry and prudence she had raised herself into a state of comfortable independence; but she had a liberal heart, and deprived herself of many enjoyments, in order to provide for relations who stood in need of her assistance. She was animated, cheerful, and intelligent in conversation, and her remarks were not taken on trust, but were the effects of acute penetration. Her dramatic productions and her novels, a "Simple Story," and "Nature and Art," show a deep knowledge of the human heart, and those novels in particular are well calculated to improve it. She was very handsome in youth, and retained much of her beauty and elegance till her death. Those who did not know her real character, and the benevolence of her nature, considered her prudence as parsimony; but she was capable of the most generous actions, and, having secured her great object, independence, she was always the ready friend of distress. As a proof that prudence and not parsimony governed her actions, she was offered a thousand pounds, by two different booksellers, for memoirs of herself, which she was known to have written, and which only extended to the period when she fixed her residence in London, but she declined both offers, conceiving that such a publication would be improper during her life. She was about sixty-six years of age, but appeared to be much younger. Though beautiful in person, and in the early part of her life exposed to the hardships and vicissitudes of the theatrical profession, in a provincial career, her conduct was unimpeached, and unimpeachable, and society has seldom suffered a heavier loss than in the death of this truly estimable woman."

*Mrs. Inchbald's published Productions are :*

1. Appearance is against Them, a farce; 8vo. 1786.
2. I'll tell you What, a comedy; 8vo. 1786.
3. The Widow's Vow, a farce; 8vo. 1786.
4. The Child of Nature, a play; 8vo. 1788.
5. Midnight Hour, a comedy; 8vo. 1788.
6. Such Things are, a play; 8vo. 1788.
7. The Married Man, a comedy; 1789.

8. Next-door Neighbours, a comedy ; 1791.
9. A Simple Story, a novel ; 4 vols. 12mo. 1791.
10. Every One has his Fault, a comedy ; 8vo. 1793.
11. The Wedding-Day, a comedy ; 8vo. 1794.
12. Nature and Art, a novel ; 2 vols. 12mo. 1796.
13. Wives as they were, and Maids as they are ; 1797.
14. Lover's Vows, a play ; 8vo. 1798.
15. Wise Man of the East ; 8vo. 1799.
16. To Marry or not to Marry, a comedy ; 8vo. 1805.
17. A Collection of Plays, with Biographical and Critical Prefaces ; 25 vols. 12mo. 1806 — 1809.
18. A Collection of Farces, and other After-pieces ; in 7 vols. 12mo. and 18mo. 1808.
19. The Modern Theatre ; 10 vols. 12mo. 1809.



## No. IX.

## WILLIAM HAYLEY, Esq.

WILLIAM HAYLEY, the friend and biographer of the amiable, but too susceptible, Cowper, was the son of Thomas Hayley, Esq. of Chichester, and of Miss Yeates, daughter of Colonel Yeates, for some time the representative of that town in parliament. He was born at his paternal home in October, 1745, and placed at a very early age at Kingston school, where his progress was considerably retarded by severe and frequent indisposition. The anxiety of Mrs. Hayley, lest the health of her son should be injured by too close an attendance to scholastic duties, induced her to remove him, in due time, and have him privately instructed under her own roof. After receiving the rudiments of a classical education at home, he was sent to Eton, where he appears to have been distinguished rather for the amiableness of his temper and disposition, than for the vigour or capacity of his intellect.

At the age of sixteen William Hayley was entered at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where one of his earliest productions, a song on the birth of his present Majesty, was composed. This lyric, although somewhat superior to the trash commonly put forth on such occasions, contained no indication of genius, and consequently attracted but very partial notice. The young poet himself had the good sense, a few years afterwards, to join his friends in their ridicule of this maiden essay. From the period of this failure in his first attempt to that of his marriage, in 1769, an interval of seven years, he devoted his time to close and unremitting study. He made himself acquainted with the most approved authors, both ancient and modern, and analysed minutely the matter, sentiments, and styles of

the most celebrated poets and orators of Greece and Rome. He applied himself to the French and Italian languages, and soon became a perfect master of the various beauties of Corneille, Racine, Rousseau, Voltaire, Dante, and Tasso. Nor was his attention confined exclusively to books, he cultivated a natural taste for the fine arts, and owing in part, perhaps, to his intimacy with the painter, Romney, and several other eminent artists, acquired a knowledge of the principles of statuary and painting of which few amateurs can boast.

On his marriage with Miss Ball, daughter of the Dean of Chichester, Mr. Hayley settled in the metropolis, but retired to his country seat at Eartham, in Sussex, after a residence in the metropolis of about five years. During his abode in London he had occasionally sacrificed to the muses, but was restrained, by the natural timidity of his disposition, from making any of his productions public. On his return, however, he seems to have devoted himself to poetry, with the view of striving with his contemporaries up the ascent to fame and popularity; for, in 1778 he published "An Epistle to an Eminent Painter," addressed to his friend Romney. In this poem he developed a minute knowledge of the art upon which it professed to treat.

His "Essay on History" appeared in 1780, and bore decisive marks of considerable improvement. It may certainly be ranked among the best of his minor productions: it embellishes character with animated description, splendid imagery, and dignified sentiment. Of his next work, the "Triumphs of Temper," little can be said in the way of eulogy. "There is," says Mr. Leigh Hunt, (in a pleasant little volume, entitled 'The Feast of the Poets,') "something not inelegant or unfanciful in the conduct of Mr. Hayley's 'Triumphs of Temper,' and the moral is of that useful and desirable description which, from its domestic familiarity, is too apt to be overlooked, or to be thought incapable of embellishment: but in this as well as in all his other writings, there is so much talking by rote, so many gratuitous metaphors, so many epithets to fill up and rhymes to fill in, and such a mawkish langour of versification, with every now and then a ridiculous hurrying for a line or so,

that nothing can be more palling or tiresome. The worst part of Mr. Hayley's style is that smooth-tongued, and overwrought complimentary style in addressing or speaking of others, which, whether in conversation or writing, has always the ill fortune, to say the least of it, of being suspected of sincerity. His best part is his annotation. The notes to his poems are amusing and full of a graceful scholarship; and two things must be remembered to his honor, — first, that although he had not genius enough to revive the taste in his poetry, he has been the quickest of our last writers to point out the great superiority of the Italian school over the French; and, secondly, that he has been among the first and the most ardent of them all in hailing the dawn of our native painting. Indeed, with the singular exception of Milton, who had visited Italy, and who was such a painter himself, it is to be remembered to the honor of all our poets, great and small, that they have shewn a just anxiety for the appearance of the sister art;

‘ And felt a brother's longing to embrace  
At the least glimpse of her resplendent face.’

It would appear, from some specimens in his notes, that Mr. Hayley would have cut a more advantageous figure as a translator than as an original poet. I do not say he would have been equal to great works; for a translator, to keep any thing like a pace with his original, should have at least a portion of his original spirit; but as Mr. Hayley is by no means destitute of the poet, the thoughts of another might have invigorated him, and he would, at any rate, have been superior to such rhymers as Hoole, for instance, who with the smallest pretensions in their own persons, think themselves qualified to translate epics. In the notes to his “*Essays on Epic Poetry*,” there is a pleasing analysis, with occasional versions of twenty or thirty lines of the *Aurancana* of Alonzo d'Ercilla, and in the same place is a translation of the three first cantos of Dante, which, if far beneath the majestic simplicity of the original, is at least for spirit as well as closeness much above the mouthing nonentities which have been palmed upon us of late years for that wonderful poet.”



In 1782, Mr. Hayley published his "Essay on Epic Poetry." The most fastidious critic must allow it to afford numerous evidences of industrious investigation and correct taste. This is the only praise to which it can aspire. The style, on the whole, is too loose and indefinite, which happens rather unfortunately in a work destined to instruct others in the art of poetical composition.

We cannot do better than to record the origin of Mr. Hayley's intimacy with Cowper in his own words:

"To Milton I am in a great measure indebted for what I must ever regard as a signal blessing, — the friendship of Cowper! The reader will pardon me for dwelling a little on the circumstances which often lead me to repeat those sweet verses of my friend on the casual origin of our most valuable attachments:

'Mysterious are his ways whose power  
Brings forth that unexpected hour,  
When minds, that never met before,  
Shall meet, unite, and part no more.  
It is the allotment of the skies,  
The hand of the supremely wise,  
That guides and governs our affections  
And plans and orders our connections.'

"These charming verses strike with particular force on my heart when I recollect, that it was an idle endeavour to make us enemies which gave rise to our intimacy, and that I was providentially conducted to Weston, at a season when my presence there afforded peculiar comfort to my affectionate friend under the pressure of a domestic affliction, which threatened to overwhelm his very tender spirits.

"The entreaty of many persons whom I wished to oblige, had engaged me to write a life of Milton, before I had the slightest suspicion that my work could interfere with the projects of any man; but I was soon surprised and concerned to hear that I was represented in a newspaper as the antagonist of Cowper.

"I immediately wrote to him on the subject, and our cor-

respondence soon endeared us to each other in no common degree. The series of his letters to me I value not only as memorials of a most dear and honorable friendship, but as exquisite examples of epistolary excellence."

Of his intercourse with Hayley, Cowper thus speaks in one of his letters to Lady Hesketh: "My correspondence with Hayley proceeds briskly, and is very affectionate on both sides. I expect him here in about a fortnight, and wish heartily, with Mrs. Unwin, that you would give him a meeting. I have promised him, indeed, that he shall find us alone, but you are one of the family."

In May, 1722, Mr. Hayley paid the promised visit to his friend at Weston. "Our meeting, (says he,) so singularly produced, was a source of reciprocal delight; we looked cheerfully forward to the unclouded enjoyment of many social and literary hours.

"My host, though now in his sixty-first year, appeared as happily exempt from all the infirmities of advanced life, as friendship could wish him to be; and his more elderly companion, not materially oppressed by the age of seventy-two, discovered a benevolent alertness of character that seemed to promise a continuance of their domestic comfort. Their reception of me was kindness itself. I was enchanted to find that the manners and conversation of Cowper resembled his poetry, — charming, by unaffected elegance and the graces of a benevolent spirit. I looked with affectionate veneration on the lady, who, having devoted her life and fortune to the service of this tender and sublime genius, in watching over him with maternal vigilance through many years of the darkest calamity, appeared to me now enjoying a reward justly due to the noblest exertions of friendship, in contemplating the health and the renown of the poet, whom she had the happiness to preserve.

"The pleasure I derived from a perfect view of the virtues, the talents, and the domestic enjoyments of Cowper, was suddenly overcast by the darkest and most painful anxiety.

"After passing our mornings in social study, we usually

walked out together at noon. In returning from one of our rambles, around the pleasant village of Weston, we were met by Mr. Greathead, an accomplished minister of the Gospel, who resides at Newport Pagnell, and whom Cowper described to me in terms of cordial esteem.

“He came forth to meet us as we drew near the house, and it was soon visible, from his countenance and manner, that he had ill news to impart. After the most tender preparation that friendship could devise, he informed Cowper that Mrs. Unwin was under the immediate pressure of a paralytic stroke.

“My agitated friend rushed to the sight of the sufferer: he returned to me in a state that alarmed me in the highest degree for his faculties. His first speech to me was wild in the extreme: my answer would appear little less so, but it was addressed to the predominant fancy of my unhappy friend, and, with the blessing of Heaven, it produced an instantaneous calm in his troubled mind.

“From that moment he rested on my friendship, with such mild and cheerful confidence, that his affectionate spirit regarded me as sent providentially to support him in a season of the severest affliction.

“A very fortunate incident enabled me to cheer him by a little show of medical assistance, in a form that was highly beneficial to his compassionate mind, whatever his real influence might be on the palsied limbs of our interesting patient.

“Having formerly provided myself with an electrical apparatus, for the purpose of applying it medicinally to counteract a continual tendency to inflammation in the eyes, I had used it occasionally (for many years) in trying to relieve various maladies in my rustic neighbours; often, indeed, with no success, but now and then with the happiest effect. I wished to try this powerful remedy on the present occasion; and enquired most eagerly if the village of Weston could produce an electrical machine. It was hardly to be expected; but it so happened, that a worthy inhabitant of Weston possessed exactly such an apparatus as we wanted, which he had partly constructed himself.

“This good man, (Mr. Sacket,) was absent from the village.



but his wife, for whose relief the apparatus had been originally formed, most readily lent it to her suffering neighbour. With this seasonable aid, seconded by medicines, probably more efficacious, from a physician of consummate skill and benevolence, united to the most fascinating manners, whom I was then so happy as to reckon in the list of my living friends, Mrs. Unwin was gradually restored."

A few days after this circumstance Mr. Hayley returned home to his elegant residence at Eartham. The grounds of this pleasant seat were all laid out under his own superintendence, and afford an evidence that he was as well acquainted with practical as theoretical gardening. To diversify the scene, he used to pass some of his time at Felpham, near Bognor, where he had also erected a beautiful cottage, for the purpose of affording his son the benefit of sea-bathing; whose long declining state of health was the cause of great affliction to him. His care, however, was unavailing; for his promising child died a short time afterwards.

Early in August, 1792, Cowper and Mrs. Unwin visited their friend at Eartham. We shall give Mr. Hayley's own account of the meeting:

"Providence conducted the two interesting travellers (Cowper and Mrs. Unwin) very safely to my retreat. The delights that I enjoyed in promoting the health and cheerfulness of guests so dear to me, in sharing the high gratification of Cowper's society, with my old sympathetic friend, Romney. It is, however, unnecessary for me to dwell on the memorable period that Cowper passed under my roof, because a few of his letters, written to different friends, while he was with me, will sufficiently describe the beneficial effect which the beautiful scenery of Sussex very visibly produced on his health and spirits. I fear not the imputation of vanity, for inserting the vivid praise of my friend of the spot I inhabited, — for I now inhabit it no more: and if I ever had any such vanity, it must have perished with the darling child for whom I wished to embellish and preserve the scene that Cowper has so highly recommended.

"The tender partiality which this most feeling friend had

conceived for me, rendered him not a little partial to whatever engaged his thoughts as mine. Many endearing marks of such partiality occurred during his residence at Eartham; but the one which gratified me most I cannot forbear to mention, I mean the very sweet condescension with which he admitted to his friendship and confidence the child to whom I have alluded, at that time a boy of eleven years, whose rare early talents, and rarer modesty, endeared him so much to Cowper that he allowed and invited him to criticise his Homer.

“Homer was not the immediate object of our attention while Cowper resided at Eartham. The morning hours that we could bestow upon books, were chiefly devoted to a complete revisal and correction of all the translations which my friend had finished from the Latin and Italian poetry of Milton; and it was generally our pastime, after dinner, to amuse ourselves in executing a rapid metrical version of ‘Andreinis Adamo.’ But the constant care which the delicate health of Mrs. Unwin required, rendered it impossible for us to be very assiduous in study, and perhaps the best of all studies was to promote and share that most singular and most exemplary tenderness and attention with which Cowper incessantly laboured to counteract every infirmity, bodily and mental, with which sickness and age had conspired to load this interesting guardian of his afflicted life.”

In one of his letters, Cowper describes the pleasure-grounds at Eartham as “occupying three sides of a hill, lofty enough to command a view of the sea, which skirts the horizon to a length of many miles, with the Isle of Wight at the end of it. The inland scene (continues Cowper) is equally beautiful, consisting of a large and deep valley, well cultivated, and inclosed by magnificent hills clothed with wood.”

In October, 1793, Mr. Hayley paid his second visit to Weston. He found his friend Cowper in good health, and enlivened by the society of his young kinsman, Mr. Johnson, and another of his favourite friends (the late Mr. Rose). Mr. Hayley endeavoured, but without success, to prevail upon Cowper to accompany him to Lord Spencer’s, at Althorpe,

where Gibbon was then upon a visit: he was, therefore, compelled to go alone. On his return, Cowper entreated him, with great warmth, to remain at Weston, and engage with him in a regular and complete revisal of his *Homer*. With this request, he found it impossible to comply. He left Weston in November. In consequence, however, of the distressing illness of his friend, Mr. Hayley passed a short time at Weston in the April following. He gives the following account of his feelings during this melancholy visit:

“Although it has been my lot to be acquainted with affliction in a variety of shapes, I hardly ever felt the anguish of sympathy, with an afflicted friend, in a severer degree than during the few weeks that I passed with Cowper at this season of his sufferings. The pain that I endured from this sympathy, was, I believe, very visible in my features, and it obtained for me, from his excellent accomplished neighbours, (Mr. and Mrs. Courtenay,) the most delicate and endearing attention. Indeed, as my own health had been shattered by a series of troubles, it would probably have sunk utterly under the pressure of this distressing scene, had not some comforts of a very soothing nature been providentially blended with the calamities of my friend.

“After devoting a few weeks to Weston, I was under a painful necessity of forcing myself away from my unhappy friend, who, though he appeared to take no pleasure in my society, expressed extreme reluctance to let me depart. I hardly ever endured one hour more dreadfully distressing than the hour in which I left him; yet the anguish of it would have been greatly increased had I been conscious that he was destined to years of this dark depression, and that I should see him no more. I still hoped, from the native vigour of his frame, that, as he had formerly struggled through longer fits of this oppressive malady, his darkened mind would yet emerge from this calamitous eclipse, and shine forth again with new lustre. These hopes were considerably increased at a subsequent period; but alas! they were delusive; for, although he recovered sufficient command of his faculties to



write a few occasional poems, and to retouch his Homer, yet, the prospect of his perfect recovery was never realised. I had beheld the poet of unrivalled genius, the sympathetic friend, and the delightful companion, for the last time."

The private life and conduct of Mr. Hayley is entitled to the highest panegyric. From his earliest introduction into society, he was remarkable for the gentleness of his manners, the integrity of his principles, and the independence of his mind. An uniform friend to virtue and talents, he has, in many instances, rescued innocence from distress, and merit from penury.

The monument to the memory of Collins, the poet, in Chichester Cathedral, was designed, and the epitaph written, by Mr. Hayley, who was a very liberal subscriber towards its erection.

During the latter part of his life, he had retired to Felp-ham, where he died November 11th, 1820.

*The following is, we believe, a correct list of Mr. Hayley's Productions:*

1. A Poetical Epistle to an Eminent Painter, (the late Mr. Romney); 4to. 1778.
2. Epistle to Admiral Keppel; 4to. 1778.
3. Epistle to a Friend on the Death of John Thornton, Esq.; 4to. 1780.
4. Essay on History, in Three Epistles to Edward Gibbon, Esq.; 4to. 1780.
5. Ode inscribed to John Howard; 4to. 1781.
6. The Triumphs of Temper, a poem; 4to. 1781.
7. Essay on Epic Poetry; 4to. 1782.
8. Plays; 4to. 1784.
9. Poems and Plays; 6 vols. crown 8vo.
10. Philosophical, Historical, and Moral Essays on Old Maids, by a Friend to the Sisterhood; 3 vols. 8vo. 1785.
11. Occasional Stanzas, written at the Request of the Revolution Society; 4to. 1788.
12. Dialogues, containing a Comparative View of the Lives,

Characters, and Writings of Lord Chesterfield and Dr. Johnson; 4to. 1786.

13. Elegy on the Death of Sir William Jones; 4to. 1795.

14. The Life of Milton, originally prefixed to Boydell's magnificent edition of his poetical works; 4to. 1796.

15. A Poetical Essay on Sculpture, in a Series of Epistles to John Flaxman; 4to. 1809.

16. Life and Posthumous Works of William Cowper; 3 vols. 4to. 1803-4. 2d. edit. 4 vols. 8vo.

17. The Triumphs of Music; 4to. 1805.

18. Ballads founded on Original and Curious Anecdotes, relating to the Instinct and Sagacity of Animals; small 8vo. 1805.

19. Supplement to the Life of Cowper; 4to. 1806.

20. Life of George Romney, Esq.; 4to. 1809.

21. Latin and Italian Poems of Milton, translated into English Verse; and a Fragment of a Commentary on Paradise Lost, by Cowper; 4to. 1808.

22. An edition of the Select Poems, by the late John Davies Morgan of Bristol; crown 8vo. 1810.

23. Three Plays, with a preface, including Dramatic Observations on the late Lieutenant-General Burgoigne; 8vo. 1811.

## No. X.

## THOMAS HARRIS, Esq.

LATE MANAGER AND PROPRIETOR OF COVENT-GARDEN  
THEATRE.

THE life of this gentleman comprises a most important era in the annals of the drama of England.

Mr. Thomas Harris was born in 1749; and, after receiving a good classical education, was brought up by his father, who appears to have been engaged in considerable mercantile speculations, to assist him in an extensive line of business. Commercial pursuits, whatever claims the recommendation of a parent might have given them upon his attention, were, however, by no means congenial with the natural bent of his inclinations.

The theatre was, perhaps, in the fullest blaze of its lustre and glory about the time that young Harris was preparing to fill the respectable station in society of a British merchant. Garrick and his satellites were then in the zenith of their reputation, and the subject of the present notice was precisely at that age when the magic of such a constellation was most likely to interest his fancy and engage his attention.

Desirous of becoming personally acquainted with the heroes whose histrionic achievements had afforded him so much gratification, young Harris became, from an almost nightly visitor of their public exhibitions, a frequenter of their private societies. Tom's Coffee-house and the Shakspeare Tavern were the principal places of resort of the most celebrated performers of the day; and to these haunts our embryo manager occasionally repaired, with the hope of obtaining an introduction to the individuals of whose talents he had conceived so exalted an opinion. Opportunities were soon



afforded him; and in proportion as his acquaintance with the sons of Thespis increased, his zeal and attention to his commercial concerns, which had hitherto been indefatigable, relaxed; until his rage for the diversions of the theatre absolutely absorbed every other consideration, and he finally relinquished the most advantageous mercantile prospects in order to embark his whole property in, and devote his entire attention to, the drama. Accordingly, in 1768, Mr. Harris contracted with the executors of John Rich for the purchase of Covent Garden theatre, for the sum of 60,000*l.*, a measure sufficiently bold and extraordinary in a young man who had not completed his one and twentieth year. Soon after the purchase, however, Mr. Harris was induced to invite some well-known colleagues to share the labours and fortunes of his enterprize. His auxiliaries were Messrs. Colman, Rutherford, and Powell. The first, to great learning, superadded a passion for the stage that led him to aspire to be at once proprietor, author, and manager; a passion which made him sacrifice, and, with much more temerity than Mr. Harris had done, very ample, and, indeed, very illustrious dependencies. The last of this memorable trio brought with him a genius, which, when kept in due subjection, and not turned from its natural course, was calculated to make even Garrick himself totter on his throne of Thespian supremacy.

Partnership in wit, and the ingenious arts (says the author of notice of Mr. Harris in the *Public Characters* \* for 1802--3,) is perhaps less likely than any other to hold long together. As a proof of which, it is a very curious fact, that on this diffidence of his own judgment, and this submission to the apprehensions of his friends, Mr. Harris nearly involved the ruin of the theatre; and although few people could write so well as Colman, or perform so well as Powell; and although Rutherford and Harris were alike sensible of the claims and talents of both these coadjutors, no brilliant success attended the house, nor could any business be carried on

\* The late Mr. Pratt.

with that prompt decision and undivided spirit necessary to great designs and adequate exertion, until Mr. Harris had bought out two of his colleagues, and found himself in the free and uncontrolled exercise of his own excellent judgment in the conduct of the whole. In the purchase of the shares of Powell and Colman, Mr. Harris was materially assisted by the late Thomas Longman, Esq. The theatre was before an unwieldy concern under the influence of too many masters; and the heads of great houses are seldom in such union as to produce, from a consent in the parts, a completeness in the whole. Some opposition of authority, or some clash of interest or opinion, is constantly happening to clog the wheels of that machine which should always be kept in harmonious movement. It was now

“ A mighty maze, but not without a plan.”

A single judgment, and that sound, was now alone to be consulted, and the general improvement of the drama, with a mind disposed to encourage the genius which he had the acuteness to discover, joined to an elegant classical taste, and a most liberal disdain of expense on every public occasion, with an uncommon degree of readiness and activity to avail himself of local as well as permanent objects, has fully shown his competency for the undertaking. By these means he not only gratified the taste of the public, but so effectually and invariably secured its good will, that no disturbances ever took place at his theatre, from his first taking the management to the period of his resignation of it. This wise, manly, and respectable conduct on the part of Mr. Harris, not only secured him the steadfast patronage of the late king; but, being coupled with a zealous and unshaken loyalty, warmly attached our late amiable monarch to his interests; a circumstance that could not fail of proving highly advantageous to the property.

About the year 1790, Mr. Harris nominated Mr. Lewis acting manager of Covent Garden, and thus relieved himself of a considerable part of the Herculean labour he had so long

and so ably sustained. He sold this respectable performer two-twelfths of the theatre, which Mr. Lewis afterwards transferred to Mr. John Kemble. Messrs. Martindale and White, who had married the daughters of Powell, had one quarter of the property between them, which on their demise was bequeathed to their widows.

In his public capacity, Mr. Harris was of course brought in contact with the most celebrated characters of his time. It would be digressing too far from our immediate object were we to enter into a detail of the extended connections of a gentleman placed in a predicament so likely to enlarge the circle of his acquaintance, as Mr. Harris was in his situation of manager of Covent Garden theatre. We should, however, be guilty of culpable negligence were we to omit mentioning that to the early intimacy of Mr. Harris with Mr. Sheridan, the public is indebted indirectly for most of the invaluable dramatic productions of that universal genius. It was at the entreaty of Mr. H. that Sheridan was first induced to turn his attention to the stage. Those admirable comedies, the *Duenna* and the *Rivals*, were both brought out at Covent Garden during Mr. Harris's management.

These two gentlemen, in the progress of their connection with each other, endeavoured to establish a friendly feeling between the rival theatres of Covent Garden and Drury Lane. They thought it no way necessary, either for their private interests or those of the public, that the ancient system of jealousy and hostility should any longer prevail; but that a general intercourse of liberal emulation, corresponding with the generous sentiments they themselves entertained, might be established. Accordingly they arranged with their respective partners for their mutual and joint interest. They purchased the Opera House also conjointly, by which union their property as well as their persons appeared for a considerable time inseparable. The decided part which Sheridan took in politics, soon occasioned an almost total division of their interests, but not so with their friendship; and their mutual good



offices in each of their theatres after this separation reflects the highest credit upon both.

Besides his intimacy with Sheridan, Mr. Harris maintained for five and twenty years a constant intercourse with that father of the modern stage, Macklin; and it is for ever to be remembered to his honour that, in conjunction with his friend Mr. Palmer, the late member for Bath, he set on foot and liberally contributed to the subscription which provided a comfortable subsistence for the latter years of that extraordinary man.

In 1792, Covent Garden theatre was, at a considerable expence to the proprietors, enlarged, and the prices of admission necessarily increased. On this occasion a good deal of opposition was manifested by the audience, which was, however, silenced by a singular incident. Mrs. Webb, a remarkably large woman, having to say in her part, "*I will be heard,*" the audience burst into roars of laughter, and, fortunately for the manager, retained their good humour until the curtain fell. After which no further opposition was attempted.

Garriek and Mr. Harris were in the early part of their acquaintance exceedingly shy of each other, but they soon grew intimate, and a lasting friendship followed. The narration of the long series of conflicts that were waged betwixt Messrs. Harris and Colman would answer no good purpose. It is enough to mention, that all animosity was entirely done away with three years previous to the latter mentioned gentleman's quitting the property, and a good understanding was re-established between them up to the period of his decease. If Mr. Harris was for the time warm in his resentments, he was by no means difficult to appease; and he never appeared to greater advantage than in his dispute on a particular occasion with some of the principal performers of Covent Garden.

The proprietor of a theatre has an undoubted right to withhold his countenance from the dissatisfied performers, who endeavour to compass their object by cabal and conspiracy. It has been justly observed that the government of a theatre

must be vested in the hands of the proprietors, and not in those of the actors, who are bound by their articles of agreement to consult the interests of the theatre, and the reasonable wishes of the manager. The idea that an actor has a right to enjoy a peculiar cast of character, is in the highest degree absurd, and has been productive of the most injurious results to the interests of the drama. This is, however, so entirely the case at the present day, that a play stands but little chance of being put in rehearsal unless each of the performers is perfectly satisfied with the character assigned him. Hence the manifest depreciation of dramatic literature. The necessity of producing several striking *dramatis personæ*, in a modern piece, in order that every actor may be accommodated with a part likely to meet his approbation, is the reason why so little interest attaches to many of our modern tragedies. Instead of concentrating the whole force of his genius in one living stream of pathos and poetry, a writer has at the present time to drivel away his strength in a dozen paltry rills. He must introduce into his play several personages, all equally distinguished; for if one character should be deemed of more importance than those which form the leading features of the piece every other actor is dissatisfied with his part, and the poet's offspring is strangled in the birth, amid the petty contentions of the Green-Room.

For ourselves we begin to consider it a hopeless task, for a writer of the present day, to produce a tragedy of more than ordinary merit. There are so many tastes to be consulted, even in the "little senate" which is first to pronounce sentence upon it; so many cuttings and parings for him to undergo before his pages are filed down to the fastidiousness or freakishness of those upon whose exertions his hopes of success must so entirely be founded, that, if an original writer should chance to be submissive enough to permit them, it is almost impossible for him to please the ambition of each performer. A tragedy must be written in this age, not for the *public*, but for the actors; for those who subscribe themselves the servants of the public! This gentleman's love of the malignant,

and that lady's love of the pathetic; this one's heroism, and that one's sentimentalism, must all be furnished with the aliment upon which their histrionic fame may happen to subsist; unless, indeed, the author resigns the domination of the many, and seeks another theatre, where one Phœnix presides with all the pomp of genius, but with none of its dignity or liberality. But even here he is the slave of a tyranny still more degrading. He must make the whole interest of his play, energy, grief, resolve, generosity, pride, pity, or revenge, centre in one individual actor, who must grasp his thunderbolts with a blaze and reverberation which awe all the meaner satraps of his throne, and cast them into an abject shade. The difficulty of attaching interest to a piece susceptible of so little variety of character, unmixed with those contrasts for which the earlier tragic writers were so justly celebrated, unblessed by those discords, which, like notes in music, ring the changes of harmony, must be obvious to all who have considered the subject with the eye of a poet. But to return to the point from which we have digressed.

It is well remarked, (by the author we have already quoted,) that the ambition, the jealousy, the spleen, and the rapacity that are to be found in all classes of men, are unhappily too often prevalent in the theatrical world; and the difficulty of obviating the evils arising from all these restless propensities, renders the duty of a manager painful and irksome in the execution. If the theatre affords profits at one period, it is subject to a constant risk, and to vast disbursements. The profits of an actor are by no means casual with respect to his salary; and if he possesses distinguished merit in his profession, he may generally look with confidence to public liberality on his benefit; but the theatre must take its chance, and submit to all the variations of popular taste, and strive to maintain its ground amidst rival amusements, by an unwearied pursuit of novelty, and a continual expence to render that novelty attractive.

Pope, Munden, Holman, Fawcett, Johnstone, Incedon, H. Johnston, and Knight, were termed the "glorious eight,"



and distinguished themselves on this occasion by their determined opposition to the manager. No breach of contract on the part of Mr. Harris was pretended, and it is more than probable that several of these gentlemen could not, had they been called upon, have defined the precise nature of their grievances. The majority of them, however, soon made candid and honorable advances towards a reunion; advances which were accepted with an alacrity equally honorable to both parties. The late Mr. Murray was the only performer who did not join the conspiracy.

The old theatre of Covent Garden, which was built in the year 1733, and, as we have already remarked, enlarged with numerous alterations, in 1792, was, on the morning of the 20th of September, 1808, reduced, by a tremendous conflagration, to a heap of shapeless ruins. The performance of the preceding night was Pizarro, the afterpiece was the Portrait of Cervantes, and both representations were received with *eclat* by a crowded and elegant audience. It is supposed that the melancholy catastrophe occurred in consequence of the wadding from a gun (fired in the course of the evening) having lodged in some part of the scenery, and which escaped the observation of the watchman.

Perhaps there is no recorded instance of so complete a destruction, of similar extent, in so short a space of time. Every composite material of the building was, however, fuel to the fire, and the large area served to ventilate it to that unsubdued pitch at which it shortly arrived. All hopes of rendering service in this quarter becoming now unavailing, the firemen directed their efforts to prevent the calamity extending to the houses around the theatre; but owing to their height, it was found impracticable for the engines to play over them; but the leather pipes being conveyed up the staircases to the third floors, and their ends being thrown and fastened to the engines below, an ingenious facility of effective action was contrived.

The fire raged with extreme violence at the eastern side of the upper part of Bow-street; where the house, No. 9, be-

longing to Mr. Paget; Nos. 10 and 11, attached to the theatre; No. 12, belonging to Mr. Hill; No. 13, the Straggler's Coffee House, wherein Mr. Donne lost almost his whole property; No. 14, belonging to Mr. Johnson, the fruiterer; and No. 15, the house of Mr. M'Kinlay, a book-binder; were all completely destroyed. The three latter houses, with the exception of Mr. Donne's part of the property, were insured in the Hope Fire Office for 2,650*l*. Some of the others were entirely uninsured, and some only partially so. Nos. 16 and 17, in the same street, were seriously damaged.

The theatre itself was totally consumed; and even the walls on the Hart-street side were not left standing. In that angle of the edifice, the Ship Tavern, and part of the box-keeper's office, were the only remains. The amount of the insurances did not exceed 60,000*l*., and the savings from the Shakspeare, amounted to about 3,500*l*.; the entire being but one-fourth of the sum necessary to replace the great loss sustained.

In addition to the usual scene-stock, there was a quantity of beautiful scenery for a new melo-drame; of the original pieces of music of Handel, Arne, and many other celebrated composers, no copies had been taken; and of many others, which were destroyed, only an outline had been given. Several dramatic productions, the property of the theatre, were completely lost. The organ left by Handel as a bequest to the theatre, which was valued at a thousand guineas, and never used but during oratorios, was likewise consumed. Mr. Ware, the leader of the band, lost a violin worth 300*l*., which for the first time in ten years, he had left behind him. Mr. Munden's wardrobe, valued at 300*l*., shared the same fate; as did Miss Bolton's jewels, and other property, to a very considerable amount.

We now come to the most painful part of our narrative: the coroners for London, Middlesex, and Surrey, sat on nineteen bodies destroyed at the fire; many of which could not be identified by friends or relatives; several persons, in addition to the nineteen who were burnt to death, expired

from the effects of bruises, &c., and it is computed, that not less than thirty lost their lives on this lamentable occasion.

The whole property destroyed amounted to more than 100,000*l.*, and the utmost amount of insurances was 75,000*l.* The King's Theatre was liberally offered by Mr. Taylor to Mr. Harris, and the company played there till the commencement of the opera season.

On the 31st December, 1808, the foundation-stone of the new theatre was laid by his present Majesty, as Grand Master of the Masonic Order. The Duke of Sussex, Earl of Moira, with several other distinguished noblemen, graced the procession of the brotherhood.

This occasion attracted a large concourse of spectators, and upwards of 1000 persons were admitted by tickets within the inclosed arena, opposite the foundation-stone.

A distinct building was provided for the Free Masons, and a marquee was erected for their grand master. The surrounding scaffolds were manned by several hundreds of the workmen employed. The exterior was guarded by a detachment of the military, and the whole scene was exhilarated by the music of different military bands.

The foundation-stone is situate at the north-east angle of the building; it is of oblong form, and weighs upwards of three tons; it hung suspended over a basement-stone. At half-past twelve o'clock, the masonic brotherhood proceeded from Free Mason's Tavern in Great Queen's-street, and arrived shortly after in the area of the intended building, adorned with the various ensigns and bearings of that order. The Chevalier Ruspini was the sword-bearer, and the whole was preceded by a military band, playing masonic airs.

At one o'clock his present Majesty arrived on the scite, and was received by the Earl of Moira. A discharge of artillery welcomed his approach, while the bands struck up "God save the King." When he arrived at the marquee, Mr. Robert Smirke presented his Majesty with a plan of the building. The King then advanced, and in the basement-stone deposited a brass box, containing two medals, one of bronze, on which was a



portrait of his Majesty, and on the reverse, the following inscription :

“ GEORGIUS  
PRINCEPS WALLIARUM,  
Theatri, Regiis, Instaurandi, Auspiciis,  
In Hostis Benedictinis  
Londini,  
Fundamenta, Sua Manu Locavit,  
MDCCCVIII.”

The other medal was deeply engraved, on copper. On one side was inscribed :

“ Under the auspices of  
His most Sacred Majesty, George III.  
King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain  
and Ireland,  
The Foundation-stone of the Theatre, Covent Garden, was  
laid by his Royal Highness George Prince of Wales,  
MDCCCVIII.”

And on the other side,

“ Robert Smirke, Architect.”

Here were deposited also gold, silver, and copper coins, of the latest coinage; the masons after this spread mortar over the lower stones, and, a silver trowel being presented by the Deputy Grand Master, Earl Moira, to his Majesty, as Grand Master, he finished spreading it, and the stone was slowly let down. The King next having, in the accustomed forms, used the plumb, the level, and the square, finished the laying of the stone with three strokes of a mallet. He now poured over it the ancient offerings of corn, oil, and wine, from the silver vases; and having returned the plan into the hands of the architect, graciously desired that the edifice might be completed conformably thereto. His Majesty, then addressing Messrs. Harris and Kemble, expressed his wish for the success and prosperity of the undertaking. The ceremony being concluded, the Grand Master withdrew.

——— Soon had formed within the ground  
 A various mould, and, from the boiling cells,  
 By strange conveyance, filled each hollow nook ;  
 Anon, out of the earth, a fabric huge  
 Rose like an exhalation,  
 Built like a temple, where pilasters round  
 Were set, and doric pillars overlaid  
 With golden architrave, nor did these want  
 Cornice or frieze, with bossy sculpture graven.

MILTON.

Upon the plan of Mr. Smirke, and under the superintend-  
 ance of Mr. Copeland, this immense pile was completed in  
 all its parts, agreeably to the promise of its proprietors, on  
 the 18th of September. The classic genius of the architect,  
 as carried into almost immediate effect by the builder, and  
 equalled in the eyes of many the executive power of Aladdin's  
 lamp. The edifice was completed in ten months, at the  
 enormous expence of 300,000*l*.

We have no intention whatever to undertake the relation  
 of the disgraceful disturbances which took place on the re-  
 opening of the theatre, in consequence principally of the ne-  
 cessary increase of the prices of admission. For sixty-seven  
 nights were these disturbances repeated, to such an extent,  
 that to hear and see the performances was next to impossible.  
 At length the managers met, as far as was compatible with  
 their interests, the wishes of the public, and a complete re-  
 conciliation followed.

Mr. Harris remained the ostensible manager of Covent  
 Garden theatre, assisted by his son, (Mr. Henry Harris,) until  
 his death, which took place October 1st, 1820, at his cottage  
 on Putney-hill, near Wimbledon. Mr. H. had been the chief  
 proprietor and manager of Covent Garden theatre for up-  
 words of half a century.

Mr. Harris married, early in life, a Miss Newton, by whom  
 he had several children. Of these Mr. Henry Harris is, we  
 have reason to believe, the eldest. He has succeeded his fa-  
 ther in the management of the theatre, and for his strenuous  
 and unremitting exertions in fulfilling the duties of this re-

sponsible situation, he is entitled to the highest praise. It is impossible for any man to labour more assiduously to conciliate the favour of the public than he does. Neither pains nor expence are spared to render Covent Garden theatre as well worth the attention and patronage of the public now, as it was in the zenith of his father's managerial popularity. It is also but justice to mention, that the most obscure author, if he produces any thing worthy of notice, is encouraged with as much warmth and liberality by the present manager, as if he were backed by the patronage of all the illustrious names in the Court Guide. Nor is less encouragement shown to young and meritorious performers; and, what renders this impartiality of more immediate moment to the author and actor is, that, with the desire to do justice to contemporary merit, is united in Mr. Henry Harris the ability to form himself, without trusting to the reports of others, an accurate judgment on the productions and talents which present themselves for his decision.

The family of the late Mr. Harris now retain seven-twelfths of the whole property of Covent Garden theatre; the remaining shares are disposed of as we have already described.



## No. XI.

JOHN RENNIE, Esq. F.R.S.

THIS gentleman, so justly celebrated for the splendid public works which have been at various times erected under his superintendence, was born, June 7th, 1761, at the small village of Preston Kirk, in the county of East Lothian, Scotland, and was the youngest of a family of several children. He had the misfortune to be deprived of his father at a very early age, when his elder brother George, in conjunction with his mother, undertook the education of the younger branches of the family.

He received the rudiments of learning at a neighbouring village-school, where the famous algebraist, Mr. Peter Nicholson, was also educated; neither of these sons of science, however, owed much to their first teacher, — reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic, being only taught at his school. The house adjoining Mr. Rennie's farm was for some time occupied by Mr. Andrew Meickle\*, an ingenious millwright, no less esteemed for his talents than respected for his candour and private worth. Mr. M. had long been connected with the family of the Rennies, and by way of evincing his respect for them, undertook to teach young Rennie his profession. He remained with him six years, during which time he became complete master of the business, as far as regarded the construction of mill-works. He assiduously devoted himself to his art, and, as modelling was taught by

\* Mr. Meickle has made several important improvements in the construction of water-wheels, and has brought the art to considerable perfection. Mr. Meickle was at that time one of the first practical millwrights in England. His work was executed with great accuracy, so that at an early age Mr. Rennie could not have had a better tutor.

Mr. Meickle, he was seldom without a model of a wheel in his pocket.

Mr. Rennie having acquired considerable proficiency, quitted Mr. Meickle, and commenced business as a master millwright in Scotland; but ambition and perseverance being the leading features of his character, he soon perceived that the occupation of a millwright in that country was far from affording lucrative prospects.

About this period (1783) Mr. Watt had just begun to apply the steam-engine to mill-work, and the Albion mill, at Blackfriars Bridge, was projected. Mr. Rennie accordingly applied to Messrs. Bolton and Watt for employment, which he obtained at the fixed salary of a guinea per week. The Albion mill was soon afterwards undertaken, and Mr. Rennie's department was to manage the mill and grinding part, neither of which Mr. Watt or any of his assistants perfectly understood. Mr. Rennie's attention and integrity gave great satisfaction to his employers, and the Albion mill being completed, he continued to superintend and put the whole in order. The machinery of Whitbread's brewhouse was soon after constructed under Mr. Rennie's directions, and an opening thus presented for him to commence business on his own account. About this time, Mr. Smeaton, the celebrated engineer, died, and left a chasm in that department of science; and a more favourable combination of circumstances for Mr. Rennie's establishment could not have presented itself. A new power for moving machines had just then been invented, and Mr. Rennie was protected by, and connected with, the inventor and patentee. He was next noticed by Mr. Robert Grazer, the projector of many useful works, who introduced him to the canal business, and made him thoroughly acquainted with the methods of carrying bills for canals and bridges through parliament.

From the year 1791 to the day of his death, Mr. Rennie was at the head of the list of civil engineers, and became connected with every undertaking of magnitude, — canals, bridges, harbours, wet docks, and machines of every description, were

executed under his direction, and at the same time he employed several workmen as an executive millwright. The Bell Rock Light-house, on the same plan as that on the Edlystone Rocks, constructed by Smeaton, may, perhaps, be considered as the masterpiece of his great genius. Among his public works, the Breakwater at Plymouth, Ramsgate Harbour, the London Docks, and the Waterloo and Southwark Bridges, will not hastily be forgotten: but they form only a small part of his numerous undertakings. His indefatigable industry is almost without parallel, and on going to France for a short time in 1816, he declared it to be the first relaxation he had taken for nearly thirty years. His habits of business were very early; he frequently made appointments at five o'clock in the morning, and was incessantly occupied till nearly nine at night, and frequently later. In the estimates of his work he was often too low; but in the execution of them he spared no expense which might add to their solidity and durability. He never occupied himself in literature, and consequently has left no record of his talents as an author; neither had he any of those failings so frequently attendant on great genius. *Order, regularity, and real business*, were alike his maxims and practice; by them his success became unprecedented, and he accumulated a considerable fortune. He excelled particularly in the management of those he employed, by which he was both obeyed as a master, and respected as a superior.

This eminent and highly useful individual died, after a long illness, at his house in Stamford-street, Blackfriars, October, 1821.

The death of Mr. Rennie is a national calamity. His loss cannot be adequately supplied by any living artist, for though we have many able engineers, we know of none who so eminently possess solidity of judgment with profound knowledge, and the happy tact of applying to every situation, where he was called upon to exert his faculties, the precise form of remedy that was wanting to the existing evil. Whether it was to stem the torrent and violence of the most boisterous sea —



to make new harbours, or to render those safe which were before dangerous or inaccessible — to redeem districts of fruitful land from encroachment by the ocean, or to deliver them from the pestilence of stagnant marsh — to level hills, or to tie them together by aqueducts or arches, or by embankment to raise the valley between them — to make bridges that for beauty surpass all others, and for strength seem destined to endure to the latest posterity, — Mr. Rennie had no rival.

Every part of the United Kingdom possesses monuments of his glory, and they are as stupendous as they are useful. They will present to our children's children objects of admiration for their grandeur, and of gratitude to the author of their utility.

Compare the works of Mr. Rennie with the most boasted exploits of the French engineers, and remark how they tower above them. Look at the Breakwater at Plymouth; in comparison with the Cassoons at Cherbourg; any one of his canals with that of Ourke, and his Waterloo Bridge with that of Nuilly. Their superiority is acknowledged by every liberal Frenchman.

He cultivated his art with the most enthusiastic ardour; and, instead of being merely a theorist, he prepared himself for practical efficiency by visiting, and minutely inspecting, every work of magnitude in every country that bore similitude with those which he might be called on to construct; and his library abounded in a richer collection of scientific writings than that of almost any individual.

The loss of such a man is irreparable. Cut off in the full vigour of his mind, his death seems to suspend for a time the march of national improvement, until the just fame of his merit shall animate our rising artists to imitate his great example, and to prepare themselves by study and observation to overcome, as he did, the most formidable impediments to the progress of human enterprise, of industry, and of increased facility in all the arts of life.

The integrity of Mr. Rennie in the fulfilment of his labours, was equal to his genius in the contrivance of his plans and

machinery. He would suffer none of the modern subterfuges for real strength to be resorted to by the contractors employed to execute what he had undertaken. Every thing he did was for futurity, as well as present advantage. An engineer is not like an architect. He has no commission on the amount of his expenditure; if he had, Mr. Rennie would have been one of the most opulent men in England; for many millions have been expended under his eye. But his glory was in the justice of his proceedings, and his enjoyment in the success of his labours.

It was only as a millwright that he engaged himself to execute the work he planned; and in this department society is indebted to him for economising the power of water, so as to give an increase of energy, by its specific gravity, to the natural fall of streams, and to make his mills equal to four-fold the produce of those which, before his time, depended solely on the impetus of the current. His mills of the greatest size work as smoothly as clock-work, and by the alternate contact of wood and iron, are less liable to the hazard of fire by friction.

M. Dupin, a celebrated French engineer, in a necrological notice of Mr. Rennie, recently published in this country, observes that "he raised himself by his merit alone. In a country in which education is general, he received from his infancy the benefit of instruction, which he afterwards knew how to appreciate.

"Scotland has the glory of having produced the most of the civil engineers, who, for nearly a century, have executed the finest monuments of the three kingdoms, and the most ingenious machines: James Watt, John Rennie, Thomas Telford, &c. seconded with so much ability by the Nimmos, the Jardines, and the Stevensons."

After enumerating the works executed by Mr. Rennie, for Messrs. Watt and Boulton, and his application of steam to machinery for clearing canals, he observes:

"Mr. Rennie learned immediately from Smeaton the art of directing hydraulical constructions; he formed himself by the

counsels and example of that great engineer, and by the study of the works of a master whom he was to equal in some respects, and surpass in many others."

M. Dupin then alludes to the East India, the London, and the West India Docks, and observes :

" At the very moment he was snatched from us by death, he was busied in finishing a new construction, equally ingenious for its architecture and its mechanism. Vast roofs, supported by lofty columns of cast-iron, present in the middle of their structure aerial roads, on which are made to run carriages, whose mechanism is so contrived, that by their means enormous mahogany trees, kept in these fine magazines, may be raised and let down at pleasure. By means of this ingenious system, a few workmen now execute in a few minutes what required formerly whole hours, and a number of workmen."

Our limits will not allow us to follow M. Dupin through his account of the various works of Mr. Rennie. We cannot, however, omit the following observations, with which he concludes his notice of the Breakwater of Plymouth :

" This unalterable solidity, secured by the judiciousness of the forms and the prudence of the dimensions, appears to us to be the essential and distinctive character of the great works of Mr. Rennie. This character is particularly remarkable in the two most beautiful bridges which adorn the metropolis of the British empire.

" The Southwark Bridge is the first in which the bold idea of using cast-iron in solid masses, and of an extent greatly surpassing that of the largest stones employed in arches. The arches of this bridge are formed by metallic masses, of a size which could only be cast in a country in which metallurgy is carried to the highest degree of perfection. Mr. Rennie derived from this advanced state of industry all the advantage which it could furnish to his talents. When we consider the extent and the elevation of the arches of this bridge, and the enormity of the elements of which it is composed, we acquire a higher idea of the force of man, and we exclaim involun-



tarily, in our admiration of this *chef d'œuvre*, ‘This is the bridge of giants!’

“If, from the incalculable effect of the revolutions which empires undergo, the nations of a future age should demand one day, what was formerly the New Sidon, and what has become of the Tyre of the West, which covered with her vessels every sea?—most of the edifices, devoured by a destructive climate, will no longer exist to answer the curiosity of man by the voice of monuments; but the bridge built by Rennie, in the centre of the commercial world, will subsist to tell the most distant generations, here was a rich, industrious, and powerful city. The traveller, on beholding this superb monument, will suppose that some great prince wished, by many years of labour, to consecrate for ever the glory of his life by this imposing structure. But if tradition instruct the traveller that six years sufficed for the undertaking and finishing of this work; if he learns that an association of a number of private individuals was rich enough to defray the expense of this colossal monument, worthy of Sesostris or Cæsar, he will admire still more the nation in which similar undertakings could be the fruits of the efforts of a few obscure individuals, lost in the crowd of industrious citizens.”

Among Mr. Rennie's public works we may instance—the London and East India Docks, the harbours of Portsmouth, Plymouth, Liverpool, Hull, Greenock, Leith, Holyhead, Port Patrick, Howth, Dunleary, &c., which were all constructed on plans furnished by the subject of this memoir. The construction of Bell Rock light-house, at the mouth of the Tay, and the quay of Woolwich, were also superintended by Mr. Rennie. But the most important of his works, and that which is likely to perpetuate his name, is the Waterloo Bridge. Some account of this stupendous undertaking may not prove uninteresting to our readers.

The *chef d'œuvre* of Mr. Rennie is the Strand, or Waterloo Bridge. This noble structure was opened on Wednesday the 18th June. The bridge was originally named “the Strand Bridge;” but the patriotic desire of commemorating the vic-

tory of Waterloo, afforded a fine opportunity for changing its appellation.

The banks of the Thames, from Blackfriars Bridge to Whitehall, were immoderately crowded by noon with all descriptions of persons. Colours were hoisted on the steeples of several churches, on the yards of wharfigers, and on many private boats. The navy standard waved on the centre of Somerset Place. A party of the horse-guards, who had been present at the battle of Waterloo, went upon the bridge about ten in the morning. A party of foot-guards also attended with their band; and a detachment of the royal horse artillery, with 20 field pieces. The bridge was decorated with 18 standards elevated. In the centre, and at each end, were two royal standards of Great Britain; there were between these, standards of Prussia and the Netherlands, and the Orange flag; thus representing the nations, the success of whose combined armies occasioned the appellation of Waterloo Bridge. The eastern side of the bridge was railed off, and temporary benches placed to accommodate the spectators.

Soon after three his present Majesty arrived at the Whitehall stairs, in his private carriage, whence he embarked on board the royal barge. This was followed by the Lord Mayor's barge, and a full company, to conduct the King to the bridge. Other barges belonging to the admiralty, and other public offices succeeded. The discharges of the artillery commenced on his Majesty's embarking, and continued till he landed at the bottom of the flight of steps on the south-east side of the bridge, which he ascended. He was received in the most respectful manner by the committee, and then walked along on the western side of the bridge, between the Duke of York and Duke of Wellington, followed by a number of military officers, officers of state, and persons of distinction, and attended by a military guard of honour. Arrived at the north end of the bridge, he descended by the north-west stairs to the royal barge. The firing then re-commenced, and did not terminate till his Majesty had landed at Whitehall watergate, and returned to Carlton House.

Having noticed the day's ceremony, it is an agreeable task to say something of the bridge itself, which we consider to be a very high testimony of the great ability of Mr. Rennie. We believe there is no bridge in any of the European capitals which is equal, as a great work, to either of the bridges of Westminster or Blackfriars; and Waterloo Bridge is superior to both of them. It is built of granite, and within the walls is filled up with an inferior stone. The departure from the old custom of curved bridges, and adopting the straight line, has removed many doubts which existed among lovers of the arts, as to the relative beauty of the different forms. A view of this new bridge, however, shows at once that the form is not only classical, but more simple and striking in its effect. The coupled Doric pillars on the piers have likewise been the subject of criticisms; if they were not introduced, some sort of buttress must have been constructed, or no projections at all. The iron turnstiles, which admit of only one passing at a time, touch some machinery which communicates with a clock locked up in an oak box in each toll-house, the index of which is thereby moved, so that on looking at it the numbers of those who have passed is directly seen. Some machinery for a similar object is to be applied to the horse and carriage gates. The bridge is lighted with gas.

*Dimensions of the Bridge.*

	<i>Feet.</i>
The length of the stone-bridge within the abutments - - -	1242
Length of the road supported on brick arches on the Surrey side of the river - - - - -	1250
Length of the road supported on brick arches on the London side - -	400
Total length from the Strand, where the building begins, to the spot in Lambeth where it falls to the level of the road - - -	2890
Width of the bridge within the balustrades - - - -	42
Width of pavement or footway, on each side - - - -	7
Width of road for horses and carriages - - - -	28
Span of each arch - - - - -	120
Thickness of each pier - - - - -	23
Clear water-way under the nine arches, which are equal - - -	1030
Number of brick arches on the Surrey side - - - -	46
Number of ditto on the London side - - - - -	10



*Length of the other Bridges in London.*

							<i>Feet.</i>
Westminster, from wharf to wharf	-	-	-	-	-	-	1223
Blackfriars	-	-	-	-	-	-	910
London-bridge	-	-	-	-	-	-	900
Vauxhall cast-iron bridge	-	-	-	-	-	-	860

The proprietors of Waterloo Bridge have determined to erect an obelisk on each side of the bridge, commemorative of its celebrated architect, Mr. Rennie. They might adopt as an inscription, with great propriety, the celebrated epitaph on Sir Christopher Wren in St. Paul's Cathedral.

*Sic monumentum queris, circumspice.*

Mr. Rennie, at the age of twenty-five, married a Miss Mackintosh, by whom he had nine children, six of whom are living; and it is supposed that two of his sons will succeed him in business; one as a general engineer, and the other as a millwright.

## No. XII.

## ALEXANDER STEPHENS, Esq.

THIS gentleman, the author of several useful and agreeable volumes, and the late editor of the present work, was born at Elgin, in North Britain, about the year 1757. He was the son of the provost of that city, Thomas Stephens, Esq. by Miss Fordyce.

Alexander Stephens received his education at the university of Aberdeen, which he left at the age of eighteen years, for the purpose of proceeding to the West India islands, principally, it would seem, with a view to add to his stock of information, and to see the world. At Jamaica he became acquainted with John Miller, Esq., a man of considerable eminence, and member of the House of Assembly in that place, from whom he received much hospitable attention, and by whom he was introduced to some of the most respectable families on the island.

On his return to England, Mr. Stephens purchased a commission in the 84th regiment, but never joined, in consequence of that corps having been suddenly and unexpectedly reduced. At the age of twenty-one, he entered himself a member of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, where he continued in the pursuit of legal studies several years. He had repeated invitations to the bar, but constantly declined them, in order to follow the bent of his own inclinations, which led him to forego the dry and monotonous intricacies of the law in favour of the more agreeable and fruitful study of poetry, and the *belles lettres*.

His earliest production was "Jamaica," a descriptive poem; and his next, published a few years afterwards, "The Templar," a law journal. But those of his works which have

been most popular, are the volumes of "Public Characters," edited by him several years ago, and published by Sir Richard Phillips; and a life of John Horne Tooke, in two volumes. The industry of Mr. Stephens, in the collection of materials for his biographical works, has not often been surpassed. Besides ensuring the authenticity of what he wrote by personal application to the relations and friends of those individuals whose memoirs he desired to introduce, he was accustomed to commit to paper the most trifling memoranda illustrative of the history of any eminent individual, the moment he was made acquainted with it. Thus a great deal of information was preserved, which would, in all probability, have never been remembered, but for the promptness and industry with which our biographer always recorded such incidents, however apparently insignificant, as were likely at any future time to assist him in his labours. The immense quantity of anecdotes which Mr. Stephens has left behind him of eminent living persons, is a striking proof how unremitting and indefatigable he must have been in the collection of them.

In 1792 Mr. Stephens married Miss Lewin, daughter of Samuel Lewin, Esq. of Broadfield House, Hertfordshire, a gentleman of considerable property, and commanding officer of a regiment of militia. By this lady, a woman of fascinating manners, and great mental endowments, he had three children, one of whom only survives, Thomas Algernon Stephens, Esq., late a lieutenant in the Royal Scots, with the third battalion of which regiment he served at the battle of Waterloo, and while carrying the colours of his troop, received a severe contusion from a grape shot, which carried away part of the staff.

This circumstance is alluded to in the following note from the Duke of Kent, which, with others equally gratifying, we happened to meet with among Mr. Stephens' papers.

*"Kensington Palace, July 1. 1815.*

"The Duke of Kent returns his best acknowledgments to Mr. Stephens for his interesting communication of yesterday,



upon the subject of the gallant conduct of his old corps in the late desperately fought struggle in Flanders; indeed, strange as it may seem, with the exception of a very few lines from Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, the commanding officer, he has not received a sentence from the battalion since those memorable days, nor any certain return of their loss: as such, Mr. Stephens' letter was doubly gratifying, and the Duke begs to assure him that he very highly appreciates it.

"The Duke cannot think of concluding this note without offering his sincere congratulations to Mr. Stephens upon the safety of his gallant son, in whose welfare, from the very moment he was first introduced to him, he has felt a personal interest, as it was impossible to see him, without being strongly prepossessed in his favour.

*"A. Stephens, Esq."*

From several original letters and notes from the same distinguished individual to Mr. Stephens, we select the following, as honourable to the active kindness of the Duke to the character of the young gentleman whose interests his Royal Highness appeared so anxious to promote.

*"Kensington Palace, April 16. 1818."*

"The Duke of Kent had the pleasure of receiving yesterday Mr. Stephens' favour, and the book he was so good as to send; and now requests that he will accept his best thanks for this fresh mark of attention. The volume at Brussels being already bound, this will be taken there by the Duke on his return, in order to be done up in a similar way; not the smallest inconvenience therefore has arisen from the circumstance of its having been sent in its present state. The Duke being a great deal at Windsor, and unwilling that Mr. Stephens should come out a second time without finding him, requests he will favour him with a note, to say when his health is sufficiently re-established to admit of his coming to Kensington, that an hour may then be fixed for receiving his visit. The Duke is happy to find that Ensign Stephens returned

to his station within his time; and Mr. Stephens may be assured, that he shall not be overlooked the moment a lieutenancy for purchase becomes vacant, and there is no senior ensign ready to give the money.

“ Mr. Stephens being already apprised of the high opinion the Duke entertains of his son’s character and promise as an officer, will give him credit, when he assures him of the pleasure he shall derive from being able at any time to forward that advancement, to which he is so justly entitled.”

“ *A. Stephens, Esq.*”

Besides enjoying the friendship and esteem of the Duke of Kent, Mr. Stephens was in habits of intimacy with the Earl of Fife, Dr. Geddes, Sir James Mackintosh, John Horne Tooke, Sir Francis Burdett, Sir Phillip Francis, the Earl of Buchan, Mrs. Thicknesse, Mrs. Mary Wolstonecraft, Mr. Curran, and several other distinguished characters of the age. He was related to the Duke of Roxburghe, whose claim to that title he pleaded with memorable success in the House of Lords. This case resembled in some degree the one decided two or three years ago respecting the Huntingdon peerage. On both occasions the issues were favourable to the parties preferring the claim.

Although a man, on the whole, of retired habits, Mr. Stephens often interested himself in the concerns of the parish (Chelsea) in which he resided; and distinguished himself by the zeal with which he advocated measures likely to prove beneficial to it. He was chairman of the city of London when the conduct of Governor Aris, of Cold Bath Fields prison notoriety, was arraigned; the petition respecting him presented to parliament, and which ultimately led to his dismissal from the post he had so much abused, was drawn up by the subject of this notice.

The following interesting piece of auto-biography, as it respects his opinions of books and men, was discovered among the posthumous papers of Mr. Stephens. It is a curious document, and worthy of preservation: we print it from one of his common-place books.

“ MYSELF.

“ An humble and obscure man. — I live in town that I may preserve my independence. — I live on the northern side of the metropolis. — My house exhibits a charming view of nature in her gayest and richest attire. — In this *rus in urbe*, or town and country-house of a man of small fortune, not out of the reach of society, and within the verge of retirement, I live at my ease, and contemplate nature and society as occasion may serve. The street in which I live issues as it were from a fashionable square, and ends in the country: the vista of one end presents the busy haunts of men; that of the other, the gentle slope of Primrose-Hill, and the bolder and more masculine aspect of Hampstead, with the houses rising like the rows of an ancient amphitheatre, and intermingled with plantations, steeples, houses, and gardens.

“ My house — at least that part of it occupied by myself, presents a transcript of my sentiments. The study, or what people affect to term the library, is composed of about three hundred volumes only. I have collected some of the best works on natural history; a series of English poets, and most of our historians, and shall soon be able, I trust, to possess *all* the books favourable to the liberty, or in other words, according to my fixed opinions, — the happiness of mankind.

“ Tacitus ranks high in this number, and has a conspicuous station assigned to him — but it is not the pedantic Tacitus of Gordon, nor the translation of Murphy, a man whose soul could never move in unison with that of the original — it is the Tacitus of Rome — of Rome, which, even in her declining days, possessed a noble-minded citizen, worthy of her ancient liberty.

“ Lucan stands next to Tacitus; and I admire the text still more than the plates, although engraved by the first artists of the English school.

“ Xenophon, ignorantly quoted by the zealots of absolute monarchy; and Cicero and Demosthenes, quoted by scholars of every description, exhibit their plain Russia bindings to the



eye of the spectator. Virgil and Horace are admitted — but they shrink back and keep at a reverential distance, as venal genius should stand abashed in the presence of virtue: indeed, they would not find a place in so conspicuous a situation, were it not that the one wrote a verse in favour of liberty (*Ethis dantem jura Catonem*); and that the other, although the flatterer of a base prince, could not be induced to write against the glorious cause for which he had fought — and fought but badly: —

Et non bene relictæ parmella.

“ Alexander enclosed Homer in the precious casket formerly belonging to Darius. — I do not possess the Oriental covering of the king of Persia, and am therefore content to enclose the poet of Ancient Greece between a couple of boards covered with Morocco.

“ By the side of the inconsistent Hume, the abject apologist of the Stewarts in his history, and the barefaced republican in his miscellanies, I place an avowed republican throughout. An excellent work is on the other side of him, Blackstone.

“ On the file to the right-hand, and in the place of honor, are to be found those books in our vernacular language which I esteem most. — Milton, the pride, Sidney, the ornament, of our nation; and Locke, more fortunate than either of them, who was the first to maintain the Revolution of 1688, on the broad principles of public liberty — that revolution which the brave and intrepid Ludlow — a soldier, yet a citizen, — member for Hull. All these are of the Holles’ approved edition; for that respectable friend to liberty employed a portion of his fortune in publishing books that had a tendency to promote public virtue, and, with a laudable zeal, presented them to all the public libraries in Europe and America. The *vindicta*, or, in other words, the *caps of liberty*, with which the bindings are adorned, are still visible in Berne and Geneva; but I suspect that they have been wholly obliterated at Madrid, St. Petersburg, and Berlin! Even in the royal library at

London, and in the British Museum, which has a chancellor and bishops for curators, they are beginning to be *effaced by time!*

“ Next to Locke, I have placed George Buchanan; for I have learned, and I now find it true, that it was a country which never could preserve freedom to itself, that its great principles were inculcated more than two centuries and a half since.

“ Lord Shaftesbury (formerly a friend to liberty) is placed at a little distance.

“ So much for the *Republic of Letters*. My furniture will perhaps exhibit my principles as well as my books.

“ Over the chimney-piece is a print of the Marquis of Landsdowne, to which, after *due trial*, I hope to add that of his two sons, Lord Wycombe, and Lord Henry Petty. I placed his Lordship, when Earl of Shelburne, in that conspicuous situation, towards the conclusion of the peace with America; a peace that rendered him unpopular, because he did not condescend to employ the vulgar and obvious means of applause, and was disabled by an unjust and badly conducted war to make a better. He thus received some of the odium of an unjust war; and those with whom it had originated, and some of those who had opposed it, actually had the unprincipled effrontery to revile him, because an unjust and glorious war could not be followed by an advantageous peace! His letter to the sheriff of Wilts, while in power, his avowed opinion for a reform in parliament, his attempt, if not to disband a standing army, at least to render it less hurtful, by recruiting it in the manner of a militia; in short, the circumstance of his being the *first* minister in our own time that ever interfered in behalf of the people; all these considerations have procured him the proud pre-eminence he now holds in my closet.

“ To the right is Charles James Fox: he was placed there several years ago; and, on the coalition, I veiled the print over with a *pink* curtain. On the beginning of the present disastrous contest, I lifted up the corner —— On Saturday, June, 1796, (two days before he was chaired,) I uncovered his face, and would have taken it entirely off, but that I

have long studied *his character*. I therefore keep it in a state of suspense, by means of a couple of gilt nails, and ready to be veiled again, as occasion may serve.

“On the right, is John Dunning, (Lord Ashburton,) in whom I lost a friend. A lawyer, and yet a friend to liberty, who had the great constitutional lawyer, Selden, in his eye, and liberty in his heart.

“A little below stands Richard Brinsley Sheridan, whose public conduct has been bold, masculine, and determined. — Will he realise the lines he has written?

“Over a map of the city of Westminster, with a bird’s eye view of the Thames and Greenwich Hospital, and surrounded by admirals, in the back ground, is placed J. H. Tooke, who has lately addressed the people in the style of Tiberius Gracchus; and who, although no naval man, has promised to stop the leak *that lets out* the public money.

“In a dreary corner, adumbrated by the works of Burke, and Reeves, and immediately beneath a wooden cut of Julian the apostate, is the portrait of William Pitt. All the artists have found it difficult to hit off his countenance; perhaps because so changeable; the candour and ingenuousness of his youth, his own talents, and a partiality, perhaps unjust, and assuredly ill-placed in behalf of his honoured father, first induced *me* to become a purchaser of this venal orator, who, in the language of Syphax, would “teach the hoary *Numidian guile*.” *Tête à tête* with him, appears that brazen senator Henry Dundas, the most extraordinary man of his time, who goes to Scotland on a shooting expedition for six weeks, and actually returns with sixteen peers and forty-five commoners, in the fob of his black velvet breeches!

“Allow me to do justice to this man; he is both merry and wise, for he has assisted at the spending of from 200 to 220 millions of money; and yet his own fortune, as if by a miracle, has nimbly increased. This is somewhat like a well, I once saw in his native country, which always flowed freely at ebb tide!

“Let me do justice, however, to the right honourable gen-



tleman: he had many private virtues, which deserve to be recognized even by the bitterest of his political opponents.

“In this same corner, I had once attempted to cram Charles Jenkinson, Lord Hawkesbury, and the Earl of Liverpool: but I found his Lordship very *shy, and unaccommodating*, so that he would not fit the interstice. Lord Loughborough, however, on being applied, fitted instantly, which some may attribute to the thinness of his body, and the meagerness of his visage, which seem determined to realise the personification of one of our English satirists.

A pert prim prater, &c.

“My principles being always congenial to those that seated the Pope of Rome on the throne, I preserve a series of their portraits. I removed one great personage at the beginning of the American war, and another, since his conduct to the Princess of Wales, into the dark corner.

“Towards the right, and immediately over a bust of Marcus Junius Brutus, with the *Ides of March* on the pedestal, is placed a print of Earl Stanhope. His eye turns rather towards the unaccommodating Cassius, but his features are bold and manly.

“Honest James Martin,” with a fine Roman cast countenance, and exactly as when I dined with him at Brand Holles, stands over the fire place. I would to God that we had but 200 such as the member for Tewkesbury in the *Angean stables*.

“Mr. Grey has an honourable part assigned to him, which he occupies in the room of Sir C., his father, whom I unhung at the very time he was refreshing himself under his own laurels at Martinico. I would have placed Captain Cochrane, of the navy, in his stead, but that I could not find an engraving of him.

“Lord Effingham, in the last war, and this gallant and able officer in the present, exhibit rare but honourable instances of military and naval integrity. — *O si sic omnes!*”

Mr. Stephens wrote a great deal for the periodical press. The pages of the *Analytical Review* abound in learned and ingenious articles from his pen. He was also a very frequent contributor to the *Monthly Magazine*. Besides papers on the *belles lettres*, he was in the habit of furnishing biographical notices for that journal. "In facility of biographical writing, (says the Editor,) and in extent of information on the lives and actions of the contemporary generation, he was equalled by no writer of his age. His industry and integrity are proved by naming the works which proceeded from his pen, and though every variety of character passed in review before him, he never wrote an ill-natured paragraph, or aided the propagation of calumny."

Mr. Stephens's constitution was much impaired by intense study, added to the immoderate use of coldiam and other quack medicines, on the efficacy of which he placed great reliance. He suffered severely from the gout for the last two years of his life. He died somewhat suddenly, at his residence of Park House, Chelsea, February 24th, 1821.

His figure was tall and commanding; his voice powerful, his general deportment graceful, and his manners particularly gentlemanlike and conciliating.

In the course of his life Mr. Stephens had three times visited the Continent, and travelled over France, Holland, and Flanders.

*The following is a List of his acknowledged Productions.*

1. Jamaica; a poem.
2. The Templar.
3. A History of the Wars which arose out of the French Revolution; 2 vols. 4to. 1803.
4. Memoirs of John Horne Tooke; 8vo. 1813.
5. The nine first volumes of the Public Characters.
6. Letters from a Nobleman to his Son.
7. A Translation of the Life of Dr. Franklin.
8. The Annual Biography; vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, with several anonymous pamphlets on various subjects.

In the notice of this gentleman, given in the Biographical Dictionary of Living Authors, the Editor speaks of him with unjustifiable impertinence as a "literary adventurer," and of his works with the same flippant and gratuitous disrespect. It would be difficult to assign a reason for an attack altogether so unprovoked and ungenerous, did it not immediately occur to us, that the publisher of the imitation of the old Monthly Magazine, (and the person with whom the Dictionary of Living Authors originated,) could be supposed to have no very friendly feelings towards a frequent and important contributor to the work he desired to supersede; so far from being, as he is there represented, a "literary adventurer," Mr. Stephens was possessed of an ample fortune, and devoted himself to literary pursuits more as an amusement than as a source of profit.



## No. XIV.

JOHN HATSELL, Esq.

CHIEF CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OF this gentleman but little information has been recorded beyond the notices we have been enabled to glean from his own publications.

Mr. Hatsell appears to have been bred at Cambridge. Certain it is, that on the 28th of May, 1764, when he was clerk-assistant, he obtained leave of absence from the House, for a few days, in order to attend the election of a high steward for that University, during the great contest between the Earls of Hardwicke and Sandwich.

On the 10th of May, 1760, in consequence of the recommendation of Dr. Akenside, he was appointed clerk-assistant to the House of Commons, by the late Mr. Dyson, to whom he was unknown. On his nomination, he proceeded towards the table, in the customary manner, when the Right Honourable Arthur Onslow, then Speaker, addressed him aloud in the following terms: "The clerk has appointed you to be his clerk-assistant; but now you are appointed, you are the clerk of the House; you are my clerk;" then, by his direction, he took his seat at the table. He remained for many years in this, which is a station of great confidence and labour, and when Mr. Dyson retired, he was appointed, in conjunction with Mr. Tyrwhitt, as the successor of the former. The office of "Clerk of the Commons House of Parliament," or "Under Clerk of the Parliaments, to attend the House of Commons," is granted by the king for life by letters patent, with a salary of 20*l.* a year; but it is a place of great emolument.

In 1776, he published the first volume of an important work,

entitled, "Precedents of Proceedings in the House of Commons, with Observations," in 4to. It was dedicated to the Right Honourable Jeremiah Dyson, cofferer to His Majesty's household, &c. "The following cases," says he in the Preface, "are part of a larger collection, extracted from the Journals of the House of Commons, and other parliamentary records. The compiler of these has always been of opinion, that the easiest method of conveying to the public the very useful information contained in those voluminous collections, is, to select particular heads or titles; and having brought together every thing that has reference to any of these heads, to digest the whole in a chronological order, and to publish it in a separate volume. He has upon this principle, ventured to send forth this work, relating to privileges of members of the House of Commons, only by way of specimen, and as an example for those who may adopt this idea, and who may have more leisure to pursue so laborious an undertaking.

"The reader will not suppose that the observations on the several cases are made with a view of declaring what the law of privilege is, in the instances to which these observations refer; they are designed merely to draw the attention of the reader to particular points, and in some degree, to assist him in forming his own opinion upon that question. This work ought, therefore, to be considered only in the light of an Index, or a chronological abridgment of the cases to be found upon this subject. The public cannot but suppose that, notwithstanding his most accurate search, many instances must have escaped his observation; he has however endeavoured, with great diligence, to examine every work which he thought might contain any thing relating to this matter; and pretends to no other merit than the having faithfully extracted and published what appeared to him essential for the information of the reader."

The work is divided into five chapters. The first contains precedents from the earliest records to the end of the reign of Henry VIII.; the second occupies the interval to the demise

of Elizabeth; the third from the accession of James I. to the end of the parliament of 1628, while the fourth and fifth are occupied with additional cases and the Appendix.

Of this volume, which was published by Dodsley, a second edition was printed in 1785; in the course of which year, also appeared a second edition of the second volume, dedicated to the Right Hon. Charles W. Cornwall, then Speaker of the House of Commons. The assistance which Mr. Hatsell obtained upon this occasion is gratefully acknowledged in the remarks: "It will be impossible to peruse a page of the following work, without observing the great advantage that it derives from the notes and observations of Mr. Onslow, the late Speaker of the House of Commons, which have been very obligingly communicated upon this occasion by his son, the present Lord Onslow." "It would be impertinent in the editor of this collection to suppose," adds he, "that any thing which he can say, will add to the reputation of a character so truly eminent as that of Mr. Onslow; but, as it was under the patronage, and from the instructions of that excellent man, that he learned the first rudiments of his parliamentary knowledge; and, when Mr. Onslow retired from a public station, as it was permitted to the compiler of this work to visit him in that retirement, and to hear there observations on the law and constitution of this government, which, particularly in the company of young persons, Mr. Onslow was fond of communicating, he may perhaps be allowed to indulge himself for a moment in recollecting those virtues which distinguished that respectable character, and in endeavouring to point them out as patterns of imitation to all who may wish to tread in his steps. Superadded to his great and accurate knowledge of the history of this country, and of the minuter forms and proceedings of Parliament, the distinguished feature of Mr. Onslow's public character was a regard and veneration for the British constitution, as it was declared and established at the Revolution. This was the favourite topic of his discourse; and it appeared from the uniform tenor of his conduct through life, that, to maintain this pure and inviolate, was the object



at which he always aimed. In private life, though he held the office of Speaker of the House of Commons for above three and thirty years, and during part of that time enjoyed the lucrative office of treasurer of the navy, it is an anecdote perfectly well known, that on his quitting the chair in 1761, his income from his private fortune, which had always been inconsiderable, was rather less than it had been in 1727, when he was first elected into it. These two circumstances in Mr. Onslow's character," adds he, "are in themselves sufficient to render the memory of that character revered and respected by all the world; but the recollection of them is peculiarly pleasant to the Editor of this work, who, amongst the many fortunate events that have attended him through life, thinks this one of the most considerable, that, in a very early period of it, he was introduced and placed under the immediate patronage of so respectable a man; from whose instructions, and by whose example, he was confirmed in a sincere love and reverence for those principles of the constitution which form the basis of this free government, the strict observation and adherence to which principles, as well on the part of the Crown as of the people, can alone maintain this country in the enjoyment of those invaluable blessings, which have deservedly drawn this eulogium from the best informed writers of every nation in Europe. That as this is the only constitution which, from the earliest history of mankind, has had for its direct object 'Political Liberty;' so there is none other, in which the laws are 'so well calculated to secure and defend the life, the property, and the personal liberty of every individual.'" The titles noticed in this volume, are the following:—"Members," "Rules of Proceeding,"—"Speaker,"—"Clerk,"—"Fees," "King," and "Appendix." The third volume relates to the "Lords" and "Supply," and concludes, like the former, with an Appendix.

Throughout the whole of this work, Mr. Hatsell stoutly asserts the rights and privileges of the House of Commons; and Charles I., and his minister, Strafford, experience, by

turns, his indignation.—“Finding it was impossible,” says he, vol.iii. chap. 5. p.198, “to prevail on any House of Commons, (of which he had tried three in three years,) to comply with his exorbitant ideas of regal prerogative, or to give countenance to the arbitrary measures of his ministers, he resolved to get rid of all restraint, and accordingly introduced such a system of tyranny into every part of the government, that the constitution was entirely destroyed and lost in the power of the Crown. Notwithstanding that he had so lately given the most solemn assent to the Petition of Right, he now as publicly violated it in every instance: 1. He, by his circular-letters to the Lords-lieutenants of counties, exacted loans and benevolences without pretence of law; and gentlemen of fortune and rank in the country were imprisoned for refusing to contribute: tonnage and poundage were taken without the consent of Parliament; and such as would not submit to pay, had their goods seized, their persons imprisoned, and heavy fines imposed upon them. 2. The rigorous powers of the Star Chamber were executed with unlimited severity; and the most trifling offences were punished without mercy. 3. Soldiers were billeted in the houses of private persons. 4. And martial law executed, attended with the most provoking outrages committed by the soldiers. Add to these, the grievous imposition of ship-money; the cruelties exercised by the High-Commissioned Court; the rigorous execution of the forest laws, and the severe administration of ecclesiastical affairs, together with the tyrannical oppressions in the government of Scotland and of Ireland, under *that able arch-traitor the Earl of Strafford*; and we shall have such a regular and comprehensive plan of arbitrary government, as was not to be exceeded in the most despotic states of Europe. But what rendered all this most odious and terrible was, that his government was so administered under pretence of law; and the courts of justice were filled with wretches ready to declare the will of the Prince to be the law of the land. Hitherto the people might have submitted; but, as Lord Clarendon observes\*,

\* Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 54.

‘ when they saw in a court of law (that law which gave them a title to, and possession of all they had,) reasons of state urged as elements of law; judges as sharp-sighted as secretaries of state, and in the mysteries of state; judgment of law grounded on matter of fact, of which there was neither enquiry nor proof, the burthen became intolerable.’ ”

Mr. Hatsell often animadverts on the conduct of the compilers of the Parliamentary History, who wish to palliate the conduct of Charles I.; and blames Mr. Hume for omitting to distinguish between the *engagement* and the *exercise* of certain powers supposed to be incident to the prerogative.

The subject of this memoir resigned his office in the year 1795, with that propriety and discernment of time, and circumstance, and of the “ *ætatis insidiæ*,” which uniformly distinguished his very useful and honourable life. The Speaker of the House of Commons, the Right Hon. Henry Addington, announced Mr. Hatsell’s intended resignation in a manner which did honour to the sincerity of his friendship, and to his sense of the loss of so able a servant of the public. The House were unanimous in their applause. Mr. Pitt seconded the Speaker, and pronounced also his testimony.

Mr. Hatsell departed this life at Marden Park, near Godstone, Surrey, in his 78th year.

From the time of his retirement, Mr. Hatsell shared the profits of his lucrative office with Mr. Ley, and subsequently with Mr. Dyson. Mr. Hatsell, educated at Queen’s College, Cambridge, did not forget in old age the use and enjoyment of the classical acquirements of early youth. In manners, he was mild and conciliating: a perfect gentleman of the old school, and rich in anecdotes of public men and public events of the last half of the eighteenth century. He enjoyed his faculties, and a comfortable state of health, to the last. After having read prayers to his family on Saturday evening, October 14th, 1820, he was seized in the night by an apoplectic affection, which terminated his life at three o’clock in the morning of Sunday. His volumes of “ *Precedents of Proceedings in the House of Commons*” are well known, and



the work will long survive him as the text-book resorted to in all cases of difficulty.

At the time of his death, Mr. Hatsell was, we believe, the senior Benchers of the Middle Temple; and his remains were removed, on Oct. 24, from Marden Park, for interment in the Temple Church. A hearse, with six horses, was followed by six mourning coaches with six horses each, and several private carriages. The chief mourners were the Right Hon. the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Hon. Mr. Powys, William Ley, and Charles Hoare, Esq. who proceeded in the first coach. Jeremiah Dyson, John Henry Leigh, John Rickman, and George Whittam, Esqrs. the four principal Clerks of the House of Commons, proceeded in the second carriage. The other carriages contained several gentlemen belonging to the House of Commons, with some of the domestics of his household. On entering the great hall, in the Temple, the procession was met by the Recorder, Mr. Baron Maseres, and other Benchers, in their robes, together with a number of gentlemen and officers in their gowns, and other regalia of office: after laying a short time in state in the middle of the hall, the whole proceeded in a solemn walking procession to the Temple Church. On entering the fine Gothic building, the solemn dirge of the Dead March in Saul was struck up on the organ; on which incomparable instrument two appropriate Anthems were performed in the course of the funeral ceremony; after which the body was deposited in the vault. A favorable notice of Mr. Hatsell occurs in that admirable satire, "The Pursuits of Literature."

## No. XV.

CHARLES ALFRED STOTHARD, Esq. A. S.

THIS eminent artist whose untimely fate has excited such very deep and general concern was the son of Thomas Stothard, Esq. R. A., and was born July 5th 1787. He developed at a very early age a talent for drawing, and whilst yet in boyhood, entered himself as a student in the Royal Academy where he soon attracted notice for the correctness and facility with which he executed copies from the antique sculptures.

One of his first performances of note was during his stay at Burleigh, the seat of the Marquis of Exeter, whither he accompanied his father, who was employed to decorate the ground staircase of that house with his masterly pencil.

He received his ticket as student in the Life Academy, and formed the resolution of becoming an historical painter. From this branch of the art, however, he resolved to turn his attention exclusively to the illustration of our national antiquities, more particularly in a path which had hitherto been but imperfectly explored — the delineation of the sculptured effigies erected in our churches as memorials for the dead. That eminent antiquary, Mr. Gough, it is true, had compiled a work of great labour and merit on the subject; but the engravings which accompanied it (though much superior to any that had preceded them) formed a secondary object, and could by no means be depended on for accuracy, or afford a correct knowledge of the *minutiæ* of antient costume.

In 1810, Mr. C. Stothard painted a spirited picture, representing the murder of Richard II. at Pomfret Castle, in which the costume of the time was strictly adhered to: the portrait of the monarch was taken from his effigy in

Westminster Abbey. This picture was exhibited at Somerset House, in 1811.

In the same year he published his first number of the "Monumental Effigies of Great Britain," the objects of which he detailed in the advertisement which accompanied the publication. These were, to afford the historical painter a complete knowledge of the costume adopted in England, from an early period of history, to the reign of Henry VIII.; to illustrate, at the same time, history and biography; and, lastly, to assist the stage in selecting its costume with propriety, for the plays of our great dramatic bard. In reference to his plan of prosecuting his work, Mr. C. Stothard liberally acknowledged, that he owed the determination of executing the etchings with his own hand, to having seen a few unpublished etchings by the Rev. T. Kerrich of Cambridge, from monuments in the Dominicans and other churches in Paris, "which claim," he adds, "the highest praise that can be bestowed." For the subsequent friendship of Mr. Kerrich, and his candid criticism in the progress of the work, Mr. C. Stothard, on all occasions, expressed himself much indebted.

The talents of Mr. C. Stothard as an artist, and the depth and accuracy of his research in the objects connected with his pursuit, soon obtained for him a distinguished reputation as an antiquary\*; and the acquaintance of characters, eminent for their learning and respectability. Among these were the late Sir Joseph Banks (who highly appreciated him), and Samuel Lysons, Esq. the joint author of "Magna Britannia," who esteemed him as a friend. Mr. Lysons employed him to make drawings, illustrative of his work; for which purpose, in the summer of 1815, Mr. C. Stothard made a journey northward, as far as the Picts' wall, adding to his portfolio many drawings for the "Magna Britannia," monumental subjects for himself, and a number of little sketches, in the most delicate and peculiar manner, of the country through which he passed.

\* A most conspicuous instance of his acumen was exhibited in the discovery of the origin of the collar S. S., which Camden had wildly conjectured, was derived from Sulpitius Severus, a learned lawyer.



During this absence from London, Mr. Lysons gave him a strong proof of his esteem and regard, by obtaining for him, unsolicited, the honourable post of historical draughtsman to the Society of Antiquaries.

In 1816, he was deputed by that body to commence his elaborate and faithful drawings from the famous Tapestry deposited at Bayeux. During his absence in France, he visited Chinon, and in the neighbouring Abbey of Fontevraud, discovered those interesting effigies of the race of the Plantagenets, the existence of which, after the revolutionary devastation, had become doubtful: the following account of this matter is extracted from Mrs. C. Stothard's Letters from Normandy and Brittany, lately published: "When Mr. Stothard first visited France, during the summer of 1816, he came direct to Fontevraud, to ascertain if the effigies of our early kings, who were buried there, yet existed: subjects so interesting to English history, were worthy of the inquiry. He found the abbey converted into a prison, and discovered, in a cellar belonging to it, the effigies of Henry II., and his Queen Eleanor of Guienne, Richard I., and Isabella of Angouleme, the Queen of John. The Chapel, where the figures were placed before the revolution, had been entirely destroyed, and these valuable effigies, then removed to the cellar, were subject to continual mutilation from the prisoners, who came twice in every day to draw water from a well. It appeared they had sustained some recent injury, as Mr. S. found several broken fragments scattered around. He made drawings of the figures; and upon his return to England, represented to our government the propriety of securing such interesting memorials from farther destruction. It was deemed advisable, if such a plan could be accomplished, to gain possession of them, that they might be placed, with the rest of our royal effigies, in Westminster Abbey."

Mrs. Stothard proceeds to state, that the application failed; but, that it had, notwithstanding, the good effect of preserving these remains from total destruction. At the same period, Mr. Stothard visited the Abbey of L'Espan, near Mans, in search of

the effigy of Berengaria, Queen of Richard I. ; he found the Abbey Church converted into a barn, and the object of his inquiry in a mutilated state, concealed under a quantity of wheat. At Mans, he discovered the beautiful enamelled tablet, representing Geoffrey Plantagenet, at once the earliest instance of what is termed a sepulchral brass, and of armorial bearings, depicted decidedly as such. Mr. Stothard's drawings of the royal effigies were, on his return from Fontevraud, submitted by Sir George Nayler to the inspection of his present Majesty, then Prince Regent, who was graciously pleased to express an earnest desire for their publication, and to allow Mr. Stothard to dedicate his work, the " Monumental Effigies," to himself.

In 1817, he made a second journey to Bayeux, for the purpose of continuing his drawings from the Tapestry.

In February, 1818, he married the young lady to whom he had so long been attached, the only daughter of John Kempe, Esq. of the New Kent Road, descended from the ancient family of the Kempes, formerly of Olantigh, near Wye, in Kent, and afterwards of Cornwall. In July following, this lady accompanied him in his third expedition to France, which he made with a view of completing the drawings from the Tapestry at Bayeux.\* His task being accomplished, he proceeded with Mrs. Stothard on a tour of investigation through Normandy, and more particularly Brittany. In order to render their families participators in some degree of the pleasures of their journey, Mrs. Stothard addressed to her mother, Mrs. Kempe, a particular detail of their tour, in a series of letters, which her husband illustrated by various beautiful drawings of the views, costume, architectural antiquities, &c. that they thought worthy of notice in their route.

On their return to England, the publication of these materials was strongly recommended by Mrs. Stothard's brother. Messrs. Longman and Co. undertook it in a liberal

\* Engravings, faithfully coloured after these drawings, are now publishing by the Society of Antiquaries.

manner; and in November, 1820, they appeared under the title of "Letters written during a Tour through Normandy, Brittany, and other Parts of France in 1818."

In 1819, Mr. C. Stothard laid before the Society of Antiquaries the complete series of his drawings from the Tapestry, and a paper highly honourable to his discrimination, in which he proved, from internal evidence, that the Tapestry was coeval with the period immediately succeeding the Conquest, to which tradition had assigned it; satisfactorily refuting the assertions of the Abbe de la Rue. This little treatise was printed in vol. XIX. of the *Archæologia*. On the 2nd of July Mr. Stothard was unanimously elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. In the autumn of the same year, he made a series of exquisitely-finished drawings for the Society, from the paintings then lately discovered on the walls of the Painted Chamber.\* Fearlessly ardent in his pursuit, he took his stand on the highest and most dangerous parts of the scaffold, erected for the repairs; and, on one occasion there, narrowly escaped the sad fate which afterwards befel him. He was preparing, just before his death, the materials for a paper addressed to the Society of Antiquaries, concerning the age of these curious decorations.

In September, 1820, he made a tour to the Netherlands, for the benefit of Mrs. C. Stothard's health, and illustrated her yet unpublished account of that journey, with some of the finest drawings of local scenery and architecture that his pencil had produced.

About two months since, he published No. 9 of his *Monumental Effigies*, with splendid vignette illustrations, heraldic and architectural. He prepared No. 10 for publication, and finished a large plate of the *Royal Effigies at Fontevraud*, coloured after the original monuments; and another, of *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, coloured as a fac-simile of the enamelled tablet

\* In these drawings he exhibited his ingenious recovery of the long-lost art of raising gold, as embossed, on the surface of the material; a mode which contributes so much to the rich splendour of the old illuminated MSS.



before mentioned: these, from the great expense incurred in the colouring, were to be published for collectors, separately from his work. Indefatigable in the pursuit of our national antiquities, Mr. Stothard had begun a work on Seals, and has left behind him many unpublished drawings of the scarcest of our Regal and Baronial Seals: among the former may be mentioned an impression of the Conqueror's, which he laboriously restored by the junction of the broken fragments, preserved with William's charter to the city of London, in the Town-Clerk's Office, Guildhall.

A short time previously to his death he commenced the collection of materials for a work to illustrate the age of Elizabeth, which the pens of able contemporaries had rendered a popular subject. The compilation of the letter-press for this work, from the MSS. authorities in our public libraries, he resigned to his wife and brother-in-law. The drawing he made of the Effigy of Elizabeth, in Westminster Abbey, has been ranked among the finest productions of his pencil: it may at the same time be observed, that he considered the figure itself as an excellent and characteristic portrait of that monarch.

Having been solicited, by the Rev. D. Lysons, to make some drawings for the Account of Devonshire, collected for the *Magna Britannia*, on the 16th of May last, he quitted his affectionate wife, at her father's house, where they resided, never to meet her more on this side that "bourn whence no traveller returns." He traversed a considerable part of Devonshire on foot, exploring the churches in his way, and making sketches of the country, according to his practice, as he proceeded. He arrived at Bere Ferrers, and on Sunday, the 27th of May, after attending Divine Service, addressed the Vicar of that place, the Rev. Henry Hobart, for permission to draw the stained glass in the east window of the church for Mr. Lysons. Prepossessed, as Mr. Hobart says he was, in favour of Mr. Stothard, by his manner, he received him with marked attention, and insisted that, during his stay at Bere, he should partake of the hospitalities of his house and table. On the following Monday, the 28th of May, Mr. Stothard began,

by means of a ladder, to make tracings from the fragments of stained glass remaining in the window: among these was a portrait of the founder of the church. Elevated on the north side of the altar, just above the tables containing the Creed and the Decalogue, the step of the ladder (dreadful to relate!) gave way! He fell, and in the effort to save himself, probably turned round: his head, as is conjectured, came in contact with the monument of a knight in the chancel, and he was, in all probability, killed on the spot, by a concussion of the brain. The time of his fall is not precisely known, as he was alone in the church; but, from the state of the drawing on which he was engaged, it is imagined to have occurred between 3 and 4 o'clock. It is not true, as reported, that his watch stopped at the moment from the shock. Singular to observe, he received his death-blow from one of those very effigies that had so long been the subject of his pursuit; and the fall which terminated the career of the artist, literally snapped the pencil in twain which he held in his hand. The most humane and respectful attention was paid to his remains by the worthy Mr. Hobart. His venerable father, (who had lost, many years before, his eldest son by an accident equally terrible and sudden\*,) repaired to the spot, accompanied by a friend, and on the 4th of June, followed, for the second time, the pride of his heart and of his hopes, to a premature grave. A. J. K.

\* He was accidentally shot by a school-fellow.

## No. XVI.

JOHN BONNYCASTLE, Esq.,

PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS, AT THE ROYAL MILITARY  
ACADEMY, WOOLWICH.

JOHN BONNYCASTLE was born at Witchurch, in the county of Buckingham: his parents, although not in affluent circumstances, contrived to bestow upon their son a respectable education. At an early age the favorable opinion which his friends entertained of his acquirements, induced him to seek his fortune in London. In this great metropolis his growing taste for mathematics became strongly fixed, from an association with friends of congenial habits and pursuits. Many of these friends have since attained considerable eminence in various departments of literature.

At the early age of eighteen years, Mr. Bonnycastle married a young lady of the name of Roll, whose liberal and cultivated mind gave fair promise of many domestic hours. The hopes he cherished were, however, speedily blighted by her untimely death.

Soon after this event, the Earl of Pomfret engaged him as a private tutor to his sons (the present Earl, and the Hon. General Fermor). That he was perfectly qualified for the task, every one who had the pleasure of his acquaintance will readily admit, when they recall to their memory the almost universal knowledge which he possessed, although he was nearly self-taught, not having in his early youth received the advantages of a classical education. And yet from our intimacy with him, we can assure our readers that no one, even amongst those who had received an University education, could be better acquainted with Homer, Virgil, Horace, the Grecian tragedians,



and the Classics in general, than the worthy subject of this memoir. With the French, Italian, and German literature he was intimately acquainted. It is true, he could not speak those languages, but he read and knew the best of their authors. In a knowledge of the English language, no one could surpass him in appreciating the merits of our best authors in every class of composition. Like his friend Fuseli, he was a great admirer of Shakspeare, and so strongly was his immortal lines fixed upon his memory, that, on the mention of a single word in the works of that incomparable poet, he would finish the sentence and give the proper emphasis.

Mr. Bonnycastle remained about two years at Easton, in the county of Northampton; the situation he then filled, he left in consequence of being appointed one of the Mathematical Masters at Woolwich, where, for more than forty years, he devoted a considerable portion of his time daily in discharging the duties of his profession; the remainder was employed in writing elementary works on the most useful branches of the Mathematics. How competent he was, has been demonstrated by the numerous editions which have been printed of those volumes. His first work was, "The Scholar's Guide to Arithmetic," the thirteenth edition of which is now selling. Those upon Algebra and Mensuration have long ranked as standard school-books. His "Treatise upon Astronomy" is the most popular of all works upon that sublime science; chiefly arising from the perspicuous manner in which the subject is treated, and its lucid style of composition; it has become a general library book, and will long remain as a testimony of the religious sentiments, benevolence, and great attainments of its author. Yet this very book was written by Mr. Bonnycastle, at Bath, under circumstances of peculiar depression, arising from a nervous complaint, to which he was very subject, in the early part of his life.

So far we have considered Mr. Bonnycastle as a man possessing talents of a varied, universal description, and as an author of elementary works in various branches of Mathematics; but it now remains to add a few words respecting his private character, from an intimate acquaintance with him for

the last twenty years of his life. He was a good husband, a good father, and a sincere friend. In company, no man could be more attractive; he was so rich in anecdote upon all subjects, especially of literature, that his presence and conversation were productive of endless amusement as well as instruction to his auditors. His widow, three sons, and a daughter survive him; all of whom, by the most unremitting attention during his long and tedious illness, proved how much he was endeared to them by his domestic virtues.

Mr. Bonnycastle was interred at Charlton, in a vault expressly built for him. His funeral obsequies were attended by the Mathematical Masters of the Royal Academy, and several Officers of the Royal Artillery. General Ford, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Academy, bestowed a marked tribute of respect to the memory of the deceased: all the Cadets were drawn out, in two double lines, before the door, thus testifying their regard for the excellent man whose funeral procession was to pass before them.

*Mr. Bonnycastle's publications are :*

1. The Scholar's Guide to Arithmetic; 12mo. 1780.
2. Introduction to Mensuration and Practical Geometry; 12mo. 1782.
3. Introduction to Algebra; 12mo. 1782.
4. Introduction to Astronomy; 8vo. 1786.
5. Euclid's Elements of Geometry; 8vo. 1789.
6. General History of Mathematics from the French of Bossut; 8vo. 1803.
7. A Treatise on Spherical Trigonometry; 8vo. 1806.
8. Introduction to Arithmetic, being the First Part of a General Course of Mathematics; 8vo. 1810.
9. A Treatise on Algebra; 2 vols. 8vo. 1813.

## No. XVII.

THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, WILLIAM LORT  
MANSELL, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF BRISTOL, AND LATE HEAD OF TRINITY  
COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

THIS active and learned member of the Church of England was educated at Trinity College. He afterwards became a tutor. The late Mr. Perceval happened to be recommended to his care, and he was appointed his preceptor. To this fortunate circumstance he stood indebted in a great measure for his subsequent elevation to the mitre. No sooner did his pupil obtain the lucrative office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster for himself, than he presented his quondam instructor to the rich living of Berwick in Elmet, valued at two thousand pounds per annum. He was also subsequently promoted, through the same powerful interest, to the see of Bristol, on the translation of Dr. Luxmoire to Hereford, in 1808.

In 1788, while only M.A., the subject of this notice was elected public orator of the University of Cambridge, which office he held for ten years, when he was succeeded by Edward Owtram, M.A.

In 1790 he obtained the degree of D.D. and was elected Master of Trinity College, through the influence of Mr. Pitt; and, it has been said, with the express view to correct the abuses which had crept into that society, and endangered not only the foundation, but the credit of the University. In this capacity he took an active part against Mr. Friend, one of the fellows, on account of a pamphlet declaratory of his avowed aversion to the war with France, and contributed not a little to his expulsion. This has always been considered a hard case; but



the times in which he lived, although they would not justify, yet served with some to excuse this voluntary instance of unbounded zeal.

While a Bachelor of Arts, Dr. Mansell rendered himself at once famous and formidable by his satirical writings; and in particular distinguished himself as the author of several well-written *jeux d'esprits*. Dr. Jowett, of Trinity Hall, having amused both himself and the public by a pretty little fairy garden, with narrow gravel walks, besprinkled with shells and pellucid pebbles, the whole being enclosed by a delicate Chinese railing, somewhat in the style of the citizen's country villa, described by Lloyd, the following lines were written and circulated on this occasion by Dr. Mansell:

*On the Garden of Joseph Jowett, L.L.D.*

"A little garden little JOWETT made,  
And fenced it with a little pallisade;  
If you would know the taste of little JOWETT,  
This little garden won't a little show it."

Dr. Mansell died at Trinity Lodge, Cambridge, in 1820. He is the author of a "Sermon preached before the House of Lords, at Westminster Abbey, January 2nd, 1810."

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## No. XVIII.

SIR ARTHUR PIGOTT, KNIGHT.

LATE ATTORNEY-GENERAL TO HIS MAJESTY, GEORGE III., M.P.  
FOR THE BOROUGH OF ARUNDEL, AND A BARRISTER OF THE  
MIDDLE TEMPLE.

SIR ARTHUR PIGOTT, who was born about the year 1750, may be considered to have been the father of the *practising lawyers* at the English bar. After receiving a good education, he became a counsel early in life; but perceiving no opening at

home, he repaired to the West Indies. Having practised for some years in the island of Grenada, he rose into high estimation, and at length became Attorney-General there. Little did he dream, at that period, that he was afterwards destined to occupy the same distinguished office in Great Britain. On his return to England he was engaged in the celebrated cause of Somerset the negro, with Mr. Hargrave, and obtained the patronage of that Lord North who was Prime Minister many years during the war with America. As a man of business, his industry and talents soon found an honourable and extensive field of action, having been employed, in conjunction with Sir Guy Carleton, Mr. Anguish, and Mr. Neave, as a commissioner for investigating the public accounts. This opened an immense source of information, and proved highly beneficial to the best interests of the country. It is to the diligence, ability, and integrity of that board, we are indebted for the first accurate and intelligible explanation of our financial system. It was it that first detailed the resources and expenditure of the country with accuracy and correctness. Before the appointment in question, we could only guess at our pecuniary situation; but now every thing has become comparatively plain and intelligent.

The labours of Mr. Pigott were at length duly estimated, and he soon after obtained a seat in Parliament. Following the fortunes of Lord North, in 1783, he joined and warmly supported the coalition. A silk gown now awaited him, and in the course of the succeeding year he was nominated Solicitor-General to the Prince of Wales. His practice was at first chiefly confined to the Court of King's Bench. He also became a leading barrister on the home circuit, until, having attacked an attorney with all the severity of forensic animadversion, the lawyers associated against him, and he was actually left without a brief! In 1793, he removed into the Courts of Chancery, and, notwithstanding his transplantation at a mature age, flourished with no ordinary degree of prosperity. On the death of Lord North, then become Earl of Guildford, he became a devoted follower of Mr. Fox; and in 1805 he was appointed Attorney-General to the King, and obtained the honour of

Knighthood. Sir Arthur, however, did not long enjoy his prosperity; for this short-lived administration scarcely exceeded one year in point of duration. His practice, however, continued to increase, and having been nominated counsel for the Bank of England, he was consulted by that great body and all its dependents on every occasion of difficulty. Sir Arthur Pigott, after attaining a good old age, died at his little villa, near Eastbourne, in Sussex, on the 6th of September, 1819, at a period when he had become the oldest member of the bar. With the late Sir Samuel Romilly, whom he greatly esteemed, he lived in unreserved intimacy for many years, and it was to his advice that the present Vice-Chancellor became indebted for all his honours. At his special recommendation Sir John Leach was called to the bar; and so accurate was his discrimination of character, that from the first he prognosticated his future rise. As a member of the House of Commons he was listened to with great attention; for his speeches were always ingenious, modest, and unassuming. He distinguished himself on many critical occasions, particularly on the impeachment of Warren Hastings and Lord Melville, at which latter he assisted his friend Mr. Whitbread, with great ability, in the quality of one of the managers for the Commons. As an advocate he was clear and impressive; his discrimination shone conspicuous, and this enabled him to compress the merits of his cause into a small compass. In private life, he always appeared mild and conciliatory; and, in politics, he was a staunch Whig.

Sir Arthur, while Attorney-General, exerted himself exceedingly in behalf of the celebrated West India Bill, of which Lord North wittily observed, "that it contained a good receipt for knocking up an administration." He possessed the full and entire confidence of Mr. Burke, and is supposed to have drawn up, or at least assisted his friend in forming, preparing, and arranging, the principal clauses of that bill. Indeed, the great orator would trust none of the Crown Lawyers, the subject of this memoir only excepted, for whom he always entertained the highest regard and esteem.



## No. XIX.

REV. CYRIL JACKSON, D. D.

DEAN OF CHRISTCHURCH, OXFORD.

CYRIL JACKSON was born in the year 1742, at Stamford, in Lincolnshire, where his father had practised, for many years, as a surgeon and apothecary ; but, having obtained a diploma for the degree of M. D., he subsequently acquired considerable reputation as a physician. At an early age, young Jackson was sent to Westminster School, where he was presented to a studentship by one of the canons. He soon became noticed, and his company courted by persons of the highest rank and greatest genius, at that time, in Christ Church ; and a cordial friendship was contracted between him and the Archbishop of York, which subsisted to his death.

His connection with Dr. Markham, and other persons of interest and rank, paved the way for his acquaintance with the Prince of Wales, in the regulation and direction of whose studies he enjoyed considerable share. Having been appointed his sub-preceptor, he became much attached to him ; and the respect continued mutual.

By honourably filling this office, he opened to himself a speedy way to preferment ; and, accordingly, he was almost immediately raised to a canonry of Christ Church, which he enjoyed till the removal of the late Honourable Dr. Bagot to the bishopric of Bristol, in 1783, when he was appointed to the deanery, a place which he seemed eminently calculated to fill.

Upon coming to the headship, Dr. Jackson resolutely applied himself to inspect more narrowly the conduct of the students, and also to correct those deficiencies, and restrain those irregularities, which his mild and less discriminating predecessor had overlooked. The effects of his reforming hand were felt and acknowledged. Christ Church was soon cleared

of the refractory and indolent ; the system of education was materially altered, and plans of instruction adopted, to give the student a more comprehensive knowledge of the several sciences.

The dean was a profound mathematician, and greatly encouraged this study ; and the high estimation in which this college has of late been held in the world, has made it the resort of the first families in England, Scotland, and Ireland. It generally boasts of from fourteen to twenty noblemen ; and, in consequence of his long residence there, the Dean had a principal share in the education of a great number of persons of distinction. His demeanor to them always did him credit ; far from overlooking their irregular conduct, he ruled and reprimanded them with a rod of the severest discipline ; and a strict regard for impartiality was one of his conspicuous traits.

Among his other studies, botany was a favourite ; and in this he attained so great a degree of excellence, that, perhaps, there were but few more complete proficient in the kingdom.

Upon the death of Archbishop Newcombe, the primacy of Ireland was offered to him ; but he refused it without hesitation. He was also offered the bishopric of Oxford, on the death of Dr. Smallwell, but declined it in favour of his highly-esteemed friend, Dr. Randolph, (afterwards Bishop of London). All the honours of the church lay before him at one period of his life, and he had but to stoop to pick up a mitre. But he preferred a life of learned leisure and seclusion to the preferment so coveted by others.

Although the Dean did not take a public, yet, certainly, he took an active, part in the controversy between the Bishop of Meath and Dr. Vincent. In order to promote the interest of the latter, he is said to have cast severe, and even uncandid, reflections upon his opponent. It should, however, be remembered that he was a Westminster-man ; and some allowances ought to be made for trifling and natural prejudices.

Upon Dr. Wingfield's resignation of the head mastership of Westminster School, the Dean exerted himself, with much vigour, to procure the appointment for his intimate friend Mr. Carey, then a tutor and a junior censor of Christ Church.

After combating many difficulties, he succeeded in his object. Owing to the youth of Mr. Carey, he was deemed ill calculated to fill an office of so much responsibility, and many respectable persons highly disapproved of Dr. Jackson's conduct, and were loud in their censure of it. But Mr. Carey's acknowledged talents and learning, as well as the strict attention he has hitherto paid to his several important duties, have in a great degree vindicated the Dean's measures, and reconciled his opponents.

Dr. Jackson resigned the Deanery of Christ Church in 1809, after maintaining the honours of his station, during a period of twenty-six years, with great dignity and propriety. He was selected by His late Majesty to preside over the education of some of his elder sons; and a little while before his death, he was honoured with a visit from His present Majesty, George IV.

He died at his favourite village of Felpham, in Sussex, August 9. 1819.

During his residence at Oxford, Dean Jackson was distinguished for his attainments as a theologian; he excelled also, and that in no common degree, in classical literature, while his dignified correctness conferred a new lustre both on himself and the respectable society over which he had so long presided.

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## No. XX.

RICHARD TWISS, Esq.

THIS gentleman, long known in the literary and musical world, was born at Rotterdam, on the 26th April, 1747, where he received, and profited by, a very excellent education. His father was a respectable English merchant, who, from circumstances connected with his views in life, had finally taken up his residence in Holland.

At the age of twenty young Twiss set out on the tour of Eu-



rope, and travelled, alternately, over England, Holland, Flanders, France, Switzerland, Savoy, Piedmont, Italy, Naples, Bohemia, Austria, Saxony, Prussia, and Germany. During these successive tours he had opportunities of becoming acquainted with some of the most extraordinary characters of the age; and, among others more or less distinguished, Rousseau, the King of Prussia, and Voltaire. His own account of his interview with the Prince of scoffers is curious and interesting. We extract it from a MS. journal which has been kindly submitted to us by the author's son, Francis Twiss, Esq.

“ On the 28th of September, 1768, we visited the residence of Voltaire, situated about six miles from Ferney. Close to the house he has erected a small church, with the following inscription over the door, in gold letters, upon black marble :

DEO EREXIT VOLTAIRE. MDCCLXI.

“ Next to the church is his theatre, which, since March last, has not been made use of. On arriving at Voltaire's house, and inquiring for the master, the servant denied him, under a pretence that he was extremely ill. I then wrote him a note, and, walking through his garden, found him in his vineyard. His dress was remarkable; he had on an old tye-wig, without powder, over which was a blue woollen cap; a new green satin nightgown, and waistcoat of the same, flowered in colours; black velvet breeches, and white cotton stockings. He stooped much, being seventy-five years of age; had fine brown eyes, particularly expressive, but no teeth in his upper jaw. His face was very lean and withered, and his enunciation slow. Speaking of his church, ‘ Cette eglise,’ said he, ‘ que j'ai fait batir est la seule eglise de l'univers qui soit dediée à Dieu seul; toutes les autres sont dediées aux Saints; pour moi j'aime mieux batir une eglise au maitre qu'aux valets !’ \*

“ I inquired whether it was true that there was an epitaph in his church-yard —

“ ‘ Non,’ replied he; ‘ c'est apparemment de la mienne dont

\* This church which I have built, is the only one in the world which is dedicated to God alone; all the rest are dedicated to the saints. For my part, I think it is better to erect a church to the Master than to the servants.

on vous a parlé ; mais elle n'y est pas encore ; il n'y a que la place.\*

“ On asking him if he had heard any news, he answered with great vivacity :

“ ‘ J'ai oui dire que le Pape a donné un parasol et un fusil à chacun de ses soldats, avec ordre de lui remettre le dernier, dans le même état qu'ils l'avaient reçu, sous peine de la loi du Talion.' †

“ On entering his library, we remarked that a superb edition of his *Pucelle D'Orleans* was lettered on the back, *Ma Jeanne !*

“ His domestic establishment consisted of two secretaries, (one of them in all probability an amanuensis,) a porter, and two women servants. I addressed him in English, French, Italian, and German, all of which he spoke with tolerable fluency. He gave us some lemonade and raspberry-juice. His house was well furnished, and contained many excellent pictures. In his library stood a tiger stuffed.

“ He was extremely polite, and took me under the arm in walking ; observing that he was old, and incapable either of giving or receiving pleasure. We returned to Geneva in the evening. \* \* \*

“ On the morning of the 30th, I again visited Ferney on horseback, accompanied only by my servant. I found Voltaire playing at chess with the curate of the place. Having in the course of conversation requested a line of his handwriting, for a remembrance, he wrote down in English the following sentence : —

“ A Englishman who goes to Italy, leaves men to see pictures !

(Signed) VOLTAIRE.

\* No. It is probably mine that you have heard mentioned ; but it is not inscribed yet ; there is only a place reserved for it.

† I have heard say that the Pope has presented a parasol and a gun to each of his soldiers, with orders that the latter shall be restored to him in the same state in which they received it, under pain of the *lex talionis*.

“ We were talking of Dr. Tissot of Lausanne, when he observed —

“ ‘ Le grand chemin et le soleil sont les meilleurs remedes de Tissot.’ \*

“ On my second visit to the library of Voltaire, I noticed three English tragedies, Dodsley’s *Cleone*, and Mason’s *Caractacus* and *Elfrida*, bound together, and lettered on the back *Tragedies Barbares*. Among his books was Baskerville’s edition of *Virgil*. His library consisted of about 5,000 volumes.

“ His house was of five apartments broad, and two deep, and three stories high. It was very genteelly, and even elegantly furnished, with velvet and gilding, stucco, china, and paintings.

“ On the altar in his church was a wooden figure of Christ, as large as life, covered with gilt ornaments. ‘How do you like my Christ?’ (said he, in English.) ‘Or do you pronounce it Chreest?’

“ On the right wall of the church without, he had erected a monument of plain white stone. Pointing to it, he exclaimed, ‘Il ne manque que l’inscription, mon ami !’ †

“ I bade him farewell: he accompanied me to my horse, wished me an agreeable journey, in English, and ‘Mi raccomando di’ non lasciarmi abbruciare a Roma,’ in Italian. ‡

Early in life Mr. Twiss published an account of a Tour in Ireland. With respect to this work, observes a friend who knew him long and intimately, “it is certain that he never intentionally departed from truth, but was, probably, too credulous as to the information he received, and too hasty in recording it. With many harmless and entertaining peculiarities of character, he was kind, friendly, and hospitable; and even those natives of Ireland who most resented what they deemed illiberal and unjust reflections on their country, when he became personally known to them, were convinced that his mistakes arose from negligence, and not from malice.

\* The highway and the sun are the best remedies of Tissot.

† Nothing but the inscription is wanting, my friend.

‡ And in Italian recommended me not to get myself burnt in Rome.



The expedient of the Irish to express their sense of his free comments upon them, was equally ludicrous and original. We cannot describe it in this place; but it is already sufficiently well known.

Mr. Twiss died at Camden Town, March, 1821. He was a skilful performer on the violin, and a general connoisseur, as it respected the fine arts. His knowledge, though not profound, was various and extensive. He was the author of the following works:—

1. Travels in Portugal and Spain, 2 vols. 8vo. 1772.
2. A Tour in Ireland, 8vo. 1775.
3. A Trip to Paris. 1792. 8vo.
4. Anecdotes of Chess. 1792. 8vo.
5. Miscellanies, 2 vols. 8vo. 1805.

## No. XXI.

JAMES BARTLEMAN, Esq.

THIS celebrated singer was born in 1777. About the time when Haydn's Creation was first introduced into this country, Mr. Bartleman, who had received the elements of his musical education from Dr. Cooke, appeared with great reputation in the concerts of the metropolis. His voice and manner, (says an intelligent writer on the progress of vocal music, in the London Magazine,) exhibited a striking contrast to all bass singers who had gone before him. His predecessors had been selected from amongst these powerful, but heavy voices, whose compass is limited above, inasmuch as their tone is round and full below, and whose execution is proportionably sluggish and monotonous.

Mr. Bartleman was completely educated in music: he was scientific as a singer, learned in the various erudition of Eng-

lish and Italian composers, particularly in the madrigalists, and the writers of sacred music. His bias was decided towards those compositions, which, even when he first came into life had already begun to be considered as the ancient music; but all that lay in his own department, he lightened of its heaviness by the brilliancy of his voice, and animated by his energy of manner. He carried as much dramatic effect into the orchestra, and he restored the knowledge of Purcell's finest compositions, as well as of Handell's finest Opera songs. He was, of his own accord, and under the impulse of his own disposition, rapidly infusing a new grace into bass singing, when the means were afforded him by Hayden's character of Raphael in the Creation, — by Calcott's beautiful songs written on purpose for him, — by Pergolesi's "O Lord, have mercy upon me." Dr. Crotch's Palestine, and several other things from Stevens, Webbe, Calcott, and Horsley, — of perdurably offering the stamp of elegance upon this part of the art. The freer admission of ornamental passages, of a cast between those employed by the bass and tenor, naturally followed, while the discontinuance of heavy divisions, and the substitution of speaking, and beautiful melodies, such as we find throughout the Creation, — in Calcott's Angel of Life, and in Horsley's Tempest, completed the enlargement of the bass singer from the imposing constraints of the former system. Nor has the pure and genuine eloquence of music, that just and forcible expression which is the result of the happiest adaptation of sound to sentiment, been abandoned or lost in the change. England owes to the present generation of native composers, a combination of grandeur with grace, not to be matched, we think, in the works of any other race of writers for basses, scarcely excepting the author of the Creation himself.

Mr. Bartleman (continues the same able critic) was a member of the Chapel Royal, and other choirs, a scientific and erudite musician, and, as a bass singer, has raised the art of expression to a higher pitch than any of his predecessors. He revived the music of Purcell, and sup-

ported the school of Handel, indeed, the ancient schools generally, with a degree of energy, purity, and effect, for which the musical world may now long look in vain. With this imaginative and energetic singer, the traditionary manner of such things as Purcell's *Let the Dreadful Engines, the Frost Scene in King Arthur*, and *Saul and the Witch of Endor*, will, we apprehend, be entirely lost. His voice had power and richness, yet these were joined with a lightness that is seldom met with in singing. He was, perhaps, the first Englishman who endeavoured to relieve the mechanical effects, before his time considered inalienable, from basses, and to inform this part with spirit, fancy, finish, and a certain portion of elegance; and he was perhaps as successful in the addition of these attributes to the native majesty and volume of tone, that are the foundations of bass-singing as any man ever was, or ever will be. His style was strictly English, both in the formation of his tone, and in his elocution, which was highly animated, and full of effective transitions. The test of his peculiar excellence appears to be, that no one has succeeded in imitating his manner; nor, indeed, has he left behind him any successor sufficiently strong to buckle on his armour.

In private life, Mr. Bartleman was refined and well-informed, lively in conversation, and enthusiastically fond of his art. He moved in a most respectable sphere in society. Mr. B. died April 15., after an illness of several years, at his house in Berners Street, aged 54 years.



## No. XXII.

REV. JOHN TRUSLER, L.L. D.

THIS singular man was born in London, in the year 1735, and, without either academical education or private fortune, contrived to obtain a degree, and a considerable portion of the good things of this world. He was originally bred an apothecary, but was lucky enough to be ordained, and officiated for some years both in London and its vicinity. Mr. Trusler soon discovered, however, that his income was both small and precarious, and finding in his own person insurmountable objections to original composition, about the year 1771, he formed a project for abbreviating the labours of others. This consisted of an abridgement of the works of the most eminent divines, which are printed in the form of manuscripts, so as not only to save the trouble of composing and transcribing, but also to convey the idea that these discourses were all written with a pen expressly for the purpose. Not content with this, Dr. Trusler, who had now obtained a degree, condescended to establish a printing and book-selling business, from which he is said to have derived considerable profit. Indeed, the sale of his own works, for he was a very voluminous author, must have proved exceedingly productive. His compositions, or rather compilations, have not, indeed, attained great praise, but a few of them, at least, claim the merit of utility. After living some time at his estate on Englefield Green, he repaired to Bathwick, where he died in 1820, at the age of 85. Here follows a list of his works —

1. Hogarth Moralized; 8vo. 1766.
2. Chronology, or a Concise View of History; 12mo. 1769. Of this little work there have been numerous editions; and one in two volumes, 12mo.
3. Principles of Politeness, extracted from Chesterfield's Letters; 12mo. 1775.
4. Account of the Islands lately discovered in the South

Sea, with an Account of the Country of Kamtschatka; 8vo. 1777. This is an abridgment of Cook's Voyages.

5. Practical Husbandry, or the Art of Farming; 8vo. 1780.

6. The Sublime Reader, or the Morning and Evening Services of the Church, pointed as they should be read; 12mo. 1782.

7. View of the Statute and Common Law of England, an abridgment of Blackstone's Commentaries; 4to. 1784.

8. Compendium of Useful Knowledge; 12mo. 1784.

9. Dictionary of Rhymes; 8vo. 1784.

10. Modern Times, or the Adventures of Gabriel Outcast; 3 vols. 12mo. 1785.

11. The London Adviser and Guide; 8vo. 1786.

12. The Country Lawyer; 12mo. 1786.

13. The Honours of the Table, or Rules for Behaviour during Meals, with the Art of Carving; 12mo. 1788.

14. Eight Years' Almanack, on a Sheet; 1788.

15. Summary View of the Constitutional Laws of England; 8vo. 1788.

16. On the Importance of a Farmer's Life, a Sermon; 8vo. 1793.

17. The Life and Adventures of William Ramble, Esq.; 3 vols. 12mo. 1793.

18. The Art of Gardening; 8vo.

19. Essay on Literary Property; 8vo. 1798.

20. The Assessed Tax Act explained; 8vo. 1798.

21. A Third Volume of his Chronology; 12mo. 1805.

22. Memoirs of his Life, Part I.; 4to. 1806.

23. Detached Philosophic Thoughts on Man; 2 vols. 12mo. 1810.

24. Proverbs Exemplified; 12mo. 1811.

Among other compilations sent forth by the Doctor, we must not omit (25.) to mention one, in numbers, entitled, The Habitable World Displayed. Besides which, he also printed

26. A Clerical Almanack.

27. Moore's Almanack Improved.

## No. XXIII.

JOHN BALLANTYNE, Esq.

FOR this notice we are indebted to a highly respectable literary journal, to which we have already had occasion to refer.

John Ballantyne, born in the town of Kelso, Roxburghshire, was the son of respectable parents engaged in a mercantile line. He enjoyed the advantages of that sort of tuition which is, greatly to the benefit and honour of the country, so readily to be obtained in Scotland. We allude to the instruction which the grammar school, established in every parish, affords an opportunity of receiving at a very moderate charge; and which has not only been the foundation for higher attainments, but the sole system of study enjoyed by many a one who has reflected eminent credit on the literature of his native land. Here, perfectly informed in the useful branches of education which fit individuals for active pursuits, or well grounded in languages, whether of modern date for the intercourse of the world, or of antiquity for the labours of learning, the young Scot lays in those stores and acquires those habits which, in after years, are exhibited so conspicuously in the man of business or the scholar. In academic shades, or by private devotion, the polish and deeper intricacies of classic lore may be superadded; but in no part of the universe can so much solid and competent knowledge be gathered as in these admirable institutions, which are open to every class, and within the reach of all but the very poorest.

In his youth, the subject of this sketch displayed great readiness and facility, and sufficiently indicated that smartness of talent and ability which distinguished him at a ripener age. While still a young man, his mind was turned to literary concerns by the establishment of a provincial newspaper, *The*



*Kelso Mail*, begun by his elder brother James, which he subsequently conducted, and which is still edited by his younger brother. The celebrity which Mr. James Ballantyne's improvements in printing soon obtained, opened a wider sphere of action, and the family removed to, and settled in, Edinburgh. The extensive publications in which the Border Press has since appeared, are the best proof of the wisdom of this measure; but the ever-active mind of John Ballantyne was not to be confined to the college of the printing-house; he embarked largely in the bookselling trade, and afterwards in the profession of an auctioneer of works of art, libraries, &c. His share in the famous Scottish novels was also a source at once of occupation and emolument: perhaps no person knew more surely than he did who was the writer of these renowned works. For the last few years a declining state of health compelled him to relinquish several of his plans, and he travelled upon the continent in search of that restoration which he was destined never to find. Retiring from the metropolis to a seat in the country near "fair Melrose," the edition of the English novellists was undertaken as an easy occupation, to divert the languor of illness, and fill up those vacancies in time which were likely to contrast with the former habits of busy life. The trial was brief. While flattering himself with the hope that his frame was reinvigorated by change of air and exercise, this gentleman died in the prime of his days. He was, we believe, about the age of forty-five.

Mr. Ballantyne married, at an early age, Miss Parker, a beautiful young lady, and a relative of Dr. Rutherford, author of the *View of Ancient History* and other esteemed works, (to whose memory we would fain pay a grateful tribute, for to him the writer of this was indebted in boyhood for that direction of his faculties to literature which has been the source of much of his happiness.) Of this union there are no children to deplore the loss of a father.

Mr. Ballantyne, in his temper and acquirements, was formed to be the delight of society. He sung admirably, was full of original wit and repartee, and perhaps was rarely surpassed in

the felicity with which he related anecdotes, or told tales of humour. It was from him that Mathews got his exquisite old Scotchwoman, and, exquisite as it is, there are many who held the prototype to be at least no ways inferior to the masterly imitator. The company of such a person was naturally much courted, and the convivial habits of the north were possibly not the best suited to his delicate constitution. Vulgar dissipation was below his notice, but even the pursuit of finer pleasures is fatal to the invalid. Much esteemed and much regretted, leaving a great blank in the literary and social sphere in which he moved, the lively and intelligent editor of Mr. B.'s novelists, has anew pointed the moral that neither vivacity of heart nor intellectual powers can resist the stroke of fate, though aimed at the epoch when the physical strength of man is most surely relied on to withstand the blow.

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#### No. XXIV.

HIS HIGHNESS AZEEM OOL DOWLAH BAHAUDAR,

LATE NABOB OF THE CARNATIC.

THIS prince is the immediate descendant of a Rajah, who, during a long reign, had always been faithful to the British interests. On the death of the late Nabob Azeem ool Dowlah Omrah in 1801, Azeem, the only surviving son of Wallajah, the former Nabob, was discovered in a retreat which his mother had prepared for him, to save his life during the reign of the former Prince. The Begum having produced the most satisfactory proofs of his identity, this prince was immediately placed by the Company on the throne of his ancestors. Good care was taken, however, that the whole of the possessions of the Nabobs of Arcot, situated in the Carnatic, should, at the same time, be

transferred by treaty to his powerful commercial patrons. The new Nabob was permitted to reserve to himself a clear annual revenue of near three lacks of pagodas, the British government undertaking to support a sufficient civil and military establishment for the protection of the country, and collection of the revenue. Being suddenly attacked with sickness, his Highness died August 2d, 1819, after an illness of about forty hours, accompanied with symptoms similar to those of the prevailing epidemic. \* The funeral was splendid. The ceremony was conducted with appropriate military honours. The flag at the fort being hoisted half-mast high during the whole day, and minute guns, corresponding with the age of his Highness, fired from the saluting battery, when the procession began to move. The corpse was carried from the palace of Shady-Makl to the principal Mosque in Triplicane, through a street formed by the body-guard of the governor.

Azeem ool Dowlah was of a mild and amiable disposition. Raised from a dungeon to the Musnud (although the legitimate heir of the nabob Wallajah) he was ever faithfully and loyally attached to the splendid alliance which retained to him the means of endeavoring to realize in this world the paradise which his religion taught him to believe awaited him in the next.

His features were strikingly handsome, and altogether free from the aspect of subdued ferociousness, which so often characterizes the countenance of an eastern nabob. Excessively corpulent in his person, he quickly sunk beneath the effects of the malignant disease which has now, for two years, been the scourge of India.

The late Wallajah Rajah, in the opinion of a late Governor-General of Bengal, (Sir John Macpherson, Bart.) was the wisest prince who ever sat on an Asiatic throne; indeed, he was the only one who, by the selection of the proper men and means, notwithstanding some rude assaults, preserved nearly all his dominions and authority unimpaired until the day of his death.



# BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

## OF DEATHS,

FOR 1821.

COMPILED IN PART FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS, AND IN PART  
FROM CONTEMPORARY PUBLICATIONS.

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### A.

ANGUS, Mr. William, aged 69, Oct. 12, a landscape and historical engraver. He was a pupil of Mr. William Walker, the well-known engraver of scenery. In his better days Mr. Angus was justly considered very eminent in his art, and had his full share of employment.

Amongst his most pleasing works may be noticed, "The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry in Great Britain and Wales; in a Collection of Select Views, engraved from Pictures and Drawings by the most eminent Artists, with Descriptions of each View," 4to. 1787—1815. He also engraved for many years very beautiful little plates for the Atlas Pocket Book, chiefly after the designs of Thomas Stothard, Esq. R. A. Unfortunately he made little provision for the latter period of his life; and when his powers in a great degree failed him, yet wholly dependent on his own exertions, he had the mortification to find himself supplanted by younger artists.

One of his pupils has far surpassed his master; we allude to Mr. W. B. Cooke, whose engravings of the "Southern Coast," and various other works, have excited such general appro-

bation. Mr. Angus has left a widow but had no children.

ASHBRIDGE, the Rev. John, was born at Heath, in the year 1788. He received the rudiments of his education from his father, the Rev. Joseph Ashbridge, vicar of Hault Hucknall, in the county of Derby. At the age of 14 he was, through the interest of Sir Henry Crewe, placed on the foundation at Repton School, where he remained until the year 1806, when he was admitted a member of Trinity College, Cambridge. — Under the very able instruction of the Rev. Dr. W. B. Sleath, he had acquired a sound and extensive acquaintance with the best parts of classical literature; and being gifted with great acuteness, and unwearied industry, he did not fail to turn the advantages of his education to a good account in the enlarged competition of the University.

At the first annual examination in the hall of Trinity College, he obtained a distinguished place in the *first class*. During the following year he exhibited the same devotedness, and the same original powers in his mathematical studies, which he had before done in his application to scholastic learning; and at the next public examination of the College, when the highest honors were awarded to the best proficient in

mathematical investigations, connected with some of the branches of philosophy, he was declared inferior to no man of his year. The life of a student, spent in the bosom of the University, cannot be expected to abound with incidents fit to be recorded in this place. Many anecdotes of private worth, and of successful application in the severest departments of abstract science, might indeed be mentioned; but it is not now considered necessary to intrude them on the public.

In the year 1810, he proceeded to the degree of B. A., and on that occasion gained the mathematical honor of *Sixth Wrangler*: a very high distinction, especially in the estimation of those who knew with what ardour he had cultivated many departments of ancient learning.

While Mr. Ashbridge continued to reside in Trinity College, almost all the ordinary subjects of literature and science in turn occupied his attention. Philological researches, connected more especially with the older Latin classics, had long supplied him with the materials for severe and successful investigation. He proved his intimate knowledge of that language, by gaining, on two successive years, one of the prizes which are given by the representatives of the University for the best prose Latin essays on some specified subject.

In the year 1812, he was elected a fellow of Trinity College, at a time when there were only two vacancies, and many powerful competitors. Having arrived at that standing in the University, when most men terminate their academical career, he did not, as is too generally the case, relax his exertions; but continued to study the best authors of antiquity, and at the same time to familiarize himself with all the refinements of modern analysis. Nor did his labours terminate in mere idle speculation. For he entered into active correspondence with some of the first mathematicians of the country, accumulated materials for an introduction to the more difficult parts of the *higher calculus*, and contributed many papers to our philosophical journals. Among his Essays of this kind may be mentioned an anonymous treatise "On the Figure of the Earth," which appeared in Leybourn's *Mathematical Repository*. Amidst these investigations he acquired an intimate acquaintance with the German language, which he justly considered as a key to all phi-

lological inquiries connected with our own literature. It is proper here to mention his great progress in many departments of Biblical Criticism; his ardent admiration of the works of many of our older divines, whose lives and writings were the constant subjects of his panegyric.

In the year 1818, he was appointed Senior Moderator of the University. No one was better qualified for undertaking the arduous duty of determining the respective merits of those who were candidates for the public honors of the Senate House. Unfortunately, however, a declining state of health, probably brought on by long-continued intemperate study, induced him to relinquish the appointment, and commence a tour on the Continent. Until his strength was worn down by sickness, he did not for a moment lose sight of the objects to which he had devoted himself; continuing to accumulate materials for a philological work on the early history of the Latin language, and to make himself acquainted with the Teutonic dialects of modern Europe. He arrived at Naples in the month of June, 1819. Though in a state which indicated a great exhaustion of body and of spirits, he was still able to join in social intercourse with a small circle of friends, among whom he was fortunate in being able to count the names of two distinguished scholars of his own country, Mr. Elmsly and Mr. Matthias. From these gentlemen he received the most kind and unremitted attentions at a time when the offices of friendship were most wanted. The unfavourable symptoms to which we have before alluded, were, after some time, succeeded by a low fever, against which he was never able completely to rally, and by which he was in a few weeks brought down to the lowest state of debility. Not long before his dissolution, a slight change in the symptoms of his illness gave a momentary gleam of hope to his friends. He attempted, during that interval, to write a letter to his sister; but his strength failed him before he could complete it. A short time afterwards, the hand of Death put an end to the kind hopes of those who were about him, and shut out his earthly prospects for ever.

It is unnecessary now to enlarge on the premature loss which the public has sustained; a loss which those only can appreciate who were formerly acquainted with the subject of this memoir. In



contemplating their irreparable loss, there are many topics of consolation to which his nearest friends will long be happy to turn their thoughts. During his lingering illness he received the most unbounded proofs of kindness from those by whom he was attended. Nor were the consolations of religion withheld from him. They were daily and affectionately administered by the Rev. Mr. Turner, the English chaplain at Naples, to whom the relations of Mr. Ashbridge owe a deep and lasting debt of gratitude.

## B.

**BLIGH**, Sir Richard Rodney, G.C.B. Admiral of the Red Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet, &c. &c. April 30, at Belle Vue, near Southampton. Sir Richard was born in Cornwall in 1737, of an ancient and noble family of that county, and was godson of the late Lord Rodney. He entered the naval service of his country at a very early period of life; but it was not until 1777 that he attained the rank of Post Captain; in which situation, in the command of the *Alexander*, of 74 guns, in November 1794, he exhibited, in a most unequal combat with a French squadron, consisting of five ships of 74 guns, three large frigates, and a brig, such courage and abilities, as, to use the words of a modern biographer, "have never been surpassed in the annals of the British navy." Sir Richard was the eighth oldest Admiral on the list, having obtained his flag in April 1804; when he resigned the command on the Leith station. He was twice married; but has left only one son, besides several daughters, all married; viz. Captain George Miller Bligh, R. N. who was severely wounded by a musket shot through the breast in the memorable battle of Trafalgar, when lieutenant of the *Victory*, to which ship he was appointed, at the desire of Lord Nelson, out of regard to his father's distinguished conduct in the service.

**BROUGHTON**, Captain Robert, deserves to be recorded in that class of illustrious circumnavigators who have conferred so much honor on their native countries, and benefitted the world at large by the extent of their maritime discoveries, nor should his fame be forgotten as commodore of the naval part of the equipment against the Island of Java, so

long as that conquest shall be duly estimated for its value and importance.

Captain Broughton was descended from a younger branch of the ancient family of that name, of Broughton Hall in Staffordshire. Sir Brian Broughton, who was created a baronet for his steady loyalty to Charles I. and II., was the ancestor of the present Sir John Broughton, Bart. and the subject of the following memoir, who was sent, at an early age, to sea in the year 1774. In the month of November he joined his Majesty's sloop *Falcon*, then at Portsmouth, and commanded by Capt. John Linzee. The *Falcon* was destined for North America, and arrived at Boston three days before the fight at Lexington; she was also one of the ships that covered the attack on Bunker's Hill.

Shortly after Mr. Broughton was made prisoner in an attempt to bring off a schooner, which had been driven ashore in Cape Ann Harbour. This misfortune was occasioned by the destruction of the *Falcon's* boats by the enemy's fire from the shore, which killed three and wounded several of the British; the remainder of the party having expended their ammunition, and having no means of regaining their vessel, were obliged to surrender. An exchange of prisoners taking place in December, 1776, Mr. Broughton obtained his release, and joined the *Eagle*, the flagship of Lord Howe; he shortly after requested and obtained permission to remove into the *Haerlem* of 12 guns, commanded by Lieut. Knight. After a variety of services in this vessel our midshipman returned to the *Eagle*, and arrived in his native land in October, 1778, after an absence of nearly four years. Mr. Broughton did not remain longer in England than December, when he joined the *Superb* of 70 guns, bearing the flag of Sir Edward Hughes. In March 1779, the *Superb*, accompanied by a squadron of men of war, proceeded to the East Indies, having first sailed to Goree, which was taken without any resistance.

The first enterprize was the reduction of Negapatam, where the fleet lay at anchor waiting for the co-operation of Sir Hector Munro's army to besiege it. The seamen and marines were landed, to act in conjunction with the military forces, and Mr. Broughton was appointed adjutant to the naval battalion under the command of Capt. Thomas Mackenzie of the *Active* frigate. Its force was about 750 strong. The place



held out till Christmas. Fort Ostenberg, in Trincomalee, was then attacked in a similar manner. It was taken by storm, and two East Indianen, richly laden, were found in the harbour. The captain of Mr. Broughton's company was killed, and Lieut. Long, with several officers and men severely wounded; but Mr. Broughton had the good fortune to escape, though he received a musket-shot through his hat. This capture took place on the 18th of January, 1782, and on that day Mr. Broughton was commissioned to be lieutenant of the *Burford* of 70 guns, commanded by Captain Peter Rainier. Mr. B. was in the several actions between the fleets commanded by Sir Edward Hughes and the French Admiral Suffren. They were in no case decisive, though well-fought and sanguinary, but were put an end to by the news of peace, when Lieutenant Broughton returned to England in June 1784, remaining there unemployed till July 1788, at which time he was appointed to the *Orestes* sloop of war, in which vessel he continued on the home station, till May 1790, when he was removed into the *Victory* of 100 guns, bearing the flag of Lord Hood.

As at that time there was little chance of a war, Lieut. Broughton was gratified in being thought a fit person to command the *Chatham*, armed brig, destined to accompany Captain Vancouver on a voyage of discovery. And in Captain Vancouver's celebrated work it will be seen that Lieutenant Broughton by no means discredited the choice that had been made of him, and in the maps may be observed many lands and islands that was discovered by him when his vessel was separated, for a time, from Captain Vancouver's. He found a barren island, to which he gave the name of Knight's Island, lat. 48. long. 166° 44'; and soon after two more, which, from their similarity, he called the *Two Sisters*, lat. 43° 11, long. 182° 49'; a larger one, he landed upon, and named it Chatham Island. The natives were of a treacherous and cruel disposition, so much so, that in their own defence Lieut. Broughton's party were obliged to fire upon them; one was killed and the rest instantly dispersed. The next service Lieut. Broughton was employed on, was a survey of the Columbia river, which he completed in his boats in ten days, having traversed it about 84 miles from its entrance. From his description, it cannot be considered as a river safe for the navigation of vessels of bur-

then. Its entrance is shallow, surrounded by dangerous reefs, and a tremendous sea, according to the tide, breaking across it.

In January 1793, Capt. Vancouver having thought it expedient that intelligence should be sent to England, concerning the adjustment of the differences relative to Nootka Sound, Capt. Vancouver requested of Seignior Quadra, the Spanish officer on the station, that he would permit Lieut. Broughton to take his passage by the way of New Spain to England. This friendly officer conveyed Lieut. Broughton to St. Blas, on the coast of California, whence he proceeded through Mexico to La Vera Cruz.

A journey through a country immortalized by the enterprising spirit of Cortez, and the sufferings of Montezuma, could not but be interesting to a mind like Lieut. Broughton's, inquisitive after useful knowledge, and desirous of visiting places, which, through the jealousy of the Spanish government, had hitherto been shut up from the curiosity of Englishmen. Humboldt's *Travels*, lately published, have been very minute in their description of Mexico; but, at the time Lieut. Broughton crossed the continent of New Spain, no book but that of Monsieur de Pagés, had for years been given to the English public on the subject. No doubt Lieut. Broughton made notes as he travelled, but, perhaps, did not think them of sufficient importance to be submitted to the world. For who that can reflect and convey his thoughts to paper, would pass over the plain of Olumba without a sigh of commiseration for the ill-fated Mexicans, and without detestation for their barbarous oppressors. Lieutenant Broughton sailed in a Spanish sloop of war to Cadiz, and thence by the way of Madrid, to visit the English minister, by which means he had an opportunity of crossing the continent of Old, as he had done that of New Spain before, and of seeing countries, in every point of view, so interesting to the curious and philosophic traveller. From Corunna he returned to England.

The Earl of Chatham, then First Lord of the Admiralty, made Lieutenant Broughton a commander in Oct. 1793; he was also appointed to command his Majesty's sloop *Prudence*, and in her to take possession of Nootka Sound, from the Spaniards, in the event of Captain Vancouver's having left that part of the world. Captain Broughton arrived at

Nootka, March 1796, and found the place had already been restored to an English officer, who informed Captain Broughton that Capt. Vancouver had left that settlement on his return to England.

The service that Captain Broughton has rendered to navigation and geography, is now more particularly to be considered, as it was left to his discretion to follow any track which he might have thought most conducive to the promotion of nautical science, and he determined in consequence to survey the coast of Asia, from  $35^{\circ}$  to  $52^{\circ}$  north latitude. Unknowingly he followed the same course which the French navigator, La Perouse, had taken; yet, however similar their voyages may appear to have been Captain Broughton could lay claim to discoveries and surveys unknown to La Perouse. The surveys of the western coast of Jesso, that also of the straits of Sangar, the coast of Corea, the Loo-choo islands and the southern Kuriles, were made by the English, which had been omitted by the French commander. Captain Broughton also determined the junction of Saghalien with Tartary, by advancing in a small vessel, not drawing more than nine feet water, eight miles further than La Perouse, and by coming into two fathoms water, at length discovered a bay three or four miles in depth. This he sent a boat to examine, and found it closed in on all sides by low sand hills, nor was there any-where the smallest trace of a passage\*. Here then was the extremity of the great gulph of Tartary, ascertained by the penetration and perseverance of Captain Broughton, and it should be recollected, that this arduous survey was effected by him in a schooner of only eighty tons burthen, with one small boat, and that not in the summer season, but in the midst of equinoctial gales, and the most unfavorable season of the year, for the Providence sloop had been lost on the 17th May 1797, by striking on a reef of rocks off Taypin-sau, one of the Loo-choo islands, situated in latitude  $25^{\circ}$  north, and  $125^{\circ}$  east longitude, about 100 miles from the east part of Formosa. The crew

were fortunately saved, consisting of 112 souls, and conveyed in the schooner Captain Broughton took with him, to China. And here it should be mentioned, that this officer visited the Loo-choo islands many years before Captain Maxwell and Captain Hall, whose voyages have been published, and in which proper notice is taken of his first claim of visiting these interesting islanders in late years, though the position of the islands had long been ascertained and described by Père Gaubal, a missionary of the Jesuits at Pekin. See *Lettres Edifiantes*, tom. xxiii. p. 182.

The crew of the Providence was distributed on board the Swift sloop of war, (which was afterwards lost, and the whole perished,) and the East India ships, to take their passage to England. Of this crew, Captain Broughton reserved thirty-five, officers and men, to accompany him in the Schooner, for the completion of the survey he had begun as detailed before. In March 1798, Captain Broughton sailed from Macao to Trincomalee Harbor, and there found he had been promoted to the rank of post-captain, January 28th, 1797.

At Trincomalee, Captain Broughton was tried by a court-martial for the loss of the Providence, and fully acquitted of any blame whatever in causing the misfortune; which appears to have been attributable to one of his officers, who was dismissed the service, though re-instated from some favourable circumstances having been advanced in his behalf.

This last voyage of Captain Broughton's, which occupied four years, was very prejudicial to him with respect to circumstances, for, in consequence of a coolness which appears to have existed between him and the commanders-in-chief in the East Indies and at the Cape of Good Hope, he was obliged to take a passage to the latter place in an American ship, and from thence to England in an Indiaman, thus incurring expenses which nearly amounted to the whole of his pay due to him during his absence. On his arrival in England, Captain Broughton applied for reimbursement, but was told that this request could not be complied with, as the establishing a precedent in such a case would be attended with bad consequences.

Our officer remained unemployed till the month of June 1801, when he was appointed to command the Batavia, of 54 guns, stationed as a floating battery,

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\* The Quarterly Reviewer, in article 2d of the 41st volume, observes, "La Perouse reasoned Saghalien into an island, which Captain Broughton afterwards ascertained to be a part of the continent of Tartary."



off Margate Sands. This ship being shortly after paid off in consequence of the peace, Captain Broughton was appointed to the *Penelope*, a fine frigate, and in that ship made a short trip to the Mediterranean.

Soon after his return from Malta, to which island he had conveyed the British resident, the late Sir Alexander Ball, hostilities having recommenced, the *Penelope* was stationed in the North Seas, to watch the Dutch ports. Charges were at this time exhibited against Capt. Broughton, by his first lieutenant, upon which he was tried by a court-martial, and acquitted of them all, excepting one for sleeping one or two nights out of his ship. On this point he was admonished, but the rest were not proved, and declared to be ill-founded, trifling, and malicious. About this time Captain Broughton's *Voyage* was published. The Russian navigator, Krusentnern, observes in his work, not knowing of the publication, as follows:

"It might almost be believed, that the English government had purposely cast a veil over the voyages of Colorette and Broughton on the coast of Japan, were it not that the liberality which they have shown, in publishing every voyage that has been undertaken during the last half century, (a period so brilliant in the history of discoveries,) completely controverts this suspicion. The companion of Vancouver could not have failed to have rendered his work very interesting to geography and navigation."

Whatever might have been the motives of the Admiralty in not assisting the publication of Captain Broughton's voyage, certain it is, that they contributed nothing to the expence of it, and in that respect differed from their predecessors in office, who behaved so liberally in editing the voyages of Cook and Vancouver. This work was well spoken of in the *Reviews*, was translated into French, and though more useful to the navigator than pleasing to the general reader, is a valuable addition to geography.

On the 21st of May the *Penelope*, then being one of the squadron under the command of Commodore Sir Sydney Smith, engaged the French flotilla passing from Flushing to Ostend. On this occasion three of her crew were killed and several wounded, and the ship much damaged.

During the ensuing three years Captain Broughton was employed in

a variety of cruizes off the Texel, to Yarmouth, Plymouth, and the channel fleet; and also off the Black Rocks, the Garonne, and Cadiz. On the 23d of May, 1807, he was appointed to the *Illustrious* of 74 guns, in which ship he was present at the memorable affair in Basque Roads, and afterwards examined as a witness on the trial of Lord Gambier.

In the summer of 1809, the *Illustrious* formed a part of the expedition against the Isle of Walcheren, subsequently to which she was stationed off Cherburg, under the orders of Sir Richard King.

While on this station, Captain Broughton received orders to proceed with a convoy to the East Indies. He accordingly sailed from Portsmouth in the early part of 1810, and arrived at Calcutta in time to join the expedition against the Isle of France; in the conquest of which settlement he had the honor to partake.

On the return of the *Illustrious* to Madras, Captain Broughton finding himself senior officer of the squadron in the Indian seas, by the death of Admiral Drury, hoisted a broad pendant, and proceeded to superintend the equipment of an expedition against the island of Java; the military part of which was conducted by Sir Samuel Auchmuty. The general rendezvous for the several divisions of the armament was to be in Malacca roads, whence the whole fleet, to the number of seventy-two ships, sailed in different divisions.

As the monsoon was contrary to the fleet's making a straight passage to Java, it became an important point of consideration, which would be the most eligible passage; the eastern route was proposed and the straits of Macassar, both of which to the commodore appeared to be too circuitous and tedious. Therefore, from the best information, he preferred the passage by the coast of Borneo to Cape Sambar, and proceeded to his destination in that course as the general intended his first attack should be that on Batavia.

The town of Batavia had surrendered when orders came from the Honorable Rear-admiral Stopford to Commodore Broughton to put himself and his squadron under his command; and also announcing his arrival at the east end of Java, in the *Scipio* man of war from the Cape, which station the admiral had left to put himself at the head of the naval expedition against the island of Java. Mortifying as this intelligence must have



been to Commodore Broughton to find that his command was taken from him so unexpectedly, yet he had the satisfaction of knowing that he had conducted so large an armament in safety through a difficult navigation, and by his co-operation with Sir Samuel Auchmuty in the reduction of Batavia, the chief town, facilitated the ultimate conquest of the island of Java.

Admiral Stopford having relinquished his assumed command on the capitulation of the island, and having returned to his station at the Cape, with his squadron, Commodore Broughton again became commander-in-chief of His Majesty's ships in the East Indies, till he hauled down his broad pendant by order of Rear-admiral Sir Samuel Hood, sent over from England to succeed Admiral Drury.

Captain Broughton now returned to England after an absence of three years, and in May, 1815, was appointed to the command of the Royal Sovereign, a first-rate lying at Plymouth, which he found ready for sea, and completely manned; but, on the total defeat of the French Emperor, and his subsequent abdication, the ship was paid off, and Lord Melville was pleased to appoint Captain Broughton to command the Spencer of 74 guns, one of the guardships at Plymouth.

In the meanwhile the Order of the Bath had been extended into three classes, and Captain Broughton found his name was only inserted in that of companions. He expostulated with the First Lord of the Admiralty on such an unmerited omission of his claim to have his name inserted in the second class; and afterwards presented a petition to His R. H. the Prince Regent, praying to be rewarded with the same mark of distinction which so many of equal rank, or juniors to him, enjoyed for services inferior to his own.

Although unsuccessful in his efforts to obtain the insignia of a knight-commander, Captain Broughton soon after received the honorable and lucrative appointment of colonel of royal marines; and every other attention was paid him by the admiralty, particularly by the noble viscount who presides at that board; and it is gratifying to his surviving friends to know, that his professional services were duly appreciated.

When the command of the Spencer had ceased, Captain Broughton retired to Florence, in Italy, where he died on the 12th of March last, to the inexpressible grief of all who were nearly connected with him, and with the very

sincere regret of his numerous friends and acquaintance. He has left a widow, the youngest daughter of his kinsman, the late Rev. Sir Thomas Broughton, Baronet, and four children, a son and three daughters, to deplore his almost sudden loss, for his death was not expected, though he had laboured for some time under the angina pectoris, a disease that has often been corrected by regimen and attention, and which, in Captain Broughton's case, was not pronounced immediately dangerous. It may with truth be asserted, that he has not left a more active or experienced officer behind him, or, in private life, a more amiable man. The writer of this article knew him well to be excellent in the characters of father, son, brother, husband, and friend, and offers this token of his respect and affection:

His saltem accumulæ scriptis et fungar inani munere.

In the burial-ground of the English factory at Leghorn, this inscription is written on his tomb by the Reverend Dr. Trevor:

Sacred to the Memory

of

William Robert Broughton, Esq.

Captain in the Royal Navy of England,

And Colonel of Marines.

His professional career was honorable to himself And beneficial to his Country.

In two Voyages of Discovery he traversed

The Pacific Ocean;

With the perseverance, intrepidity, and skill :

Of a British seaman ;

On the intricate coast of Java,

As Commander-in-chief of the English squadron,

He steered his fleet to victory,

And secured that valuable Island to his Sovereign.

After having brav'd and overcome danger

For forty-seven years in the service of his country,

On the 12th of March, 1821, in the 59th year

of his age,

He died suddenly in Florence,

In the bosom of his family

To whom he was endeared by

Those qualities which ameliorate the evils

And enliven the joys of domestic life.

It is now the consolation, as it was the happiness,

Of his afflicted widow and children,

That to the character of a brave and gallant officer

Was united, in the object of their sorrow,

that of

A good Christian.

BURNEY, Rear-admiral James, November, 17, at Pimlico; a memoir of this distinguished officer will appear in our next.

C.

CALDWELL, Sir Benjamin, G.C.B. Admiral of the Red. — This officer was the descendant of a respectable and ancient family, originally from Scotland. Some of its younger branches, however, as we learn from Crawford's

History of Renfrew, were in the army, and, going to Ireland at the time of the troubles in that country, settled near Drogheda.

Mr. Caldwell, being destined for the naval service, went to the Royal Academy at Portsmouth in 1754. Having remained there two years and a half, he went to sea, in His Majesty's ship *Isis*, commanded by Capt. Edward Wheeler. In the *Isis* he remained, we believe, till the month of March, 1759, when he was removed to the *Namur*, the flag-ship of Admiral Boscawen, then recently appointed to the command of a fleet of fourteen sail of the line and two frigates, destined for the Mediterranean.

Admiral Boscawen sailed from Saint Helens on the 14th of April, and on the 17th of August following encountered and defeated M. de la Clue, off Lagos.

On the 20th of November, in the same year, Mr. Caldwell was also in the celebrated victory obtained by Sir Edward Hawke over M. de Conflans. As yet, he was only a midshipman; but, on the 20th of March, 1760, he was made a lieutenant, and appointed to the *Achilles*, commanded by the Hon. Captain Barrington.

On the 24th of May, 1762, Mr. Caldwell was appointed to the command of the *Martin* sloop, in which vessel he sailed in the September of 1763, first to the coast of Africa, and thence to the West Indies. He remained in the *Martin* till 1765, when, on the first of April, he was promoted to the rank of post-captain in the *Milford* frigate.

In the spring of 1768, Captain Caldwell was appointed to the *Rose*, in which he remained, on the Boston station, till the end of 1771. His next appointment was to the *Emerald* frigate, in 1775. The *Emerald*, immediately after she was commissioned, was ordered on the North American station, under Lord Howe, where she remained till the winter of 1779. On this service, Captain Caldwell had various opportunities of distinguishing himself; and his diligence, activity, and gallantry, were eminently conspicuous, particularly in blockading the Capes of Virginia, where he took the *Virginia* frigate, and numerous other smaller vessels.

On the 25th of December, 1779, Captain Caldwell was appointed to the *Hannibal*, a new ship of 50 guns. In the *Hannibal* he sailed to St. Helena, and on his return he brought home an

East India convoy. Shortly after his arrival in England, in 1781, he was farther advanced to the command of the *Agamemnon*, of 64 guns, attached to the Channel fleet, under Admiral Darby.

At the latter end of that year, the *Agamemnon* formed a part of Rear Admiral Kempenfelt's squadron, cruising for the purpose of intercepting a fleet which had sailed from Brest, with a convoy for the West Indies.

At day-break on the 12th of December, about 35 leagues to the westward of Ushant, the English Admiral descried the enemy's fleet; and though it was greatly his superior in force, he succeeded in cutting off about twenty sail of the convoy. The *Agamemnon* was detached in quest of any straggling ships of the enemy which might have separated from the main body. On the 25th of December, Captain Caldwell fell in with seven sail of transports, with troops and naval stores. Five of these, four ships and a snow, were captured, and carried safely into port.

Soon after his return from the above cruise, Capt. Caldwell was ordered to the West Indies, and was fortunate enough to join Admiral Sir George B. Rodney in time to share the glories of the memorable 12th of April, 1782. The *Agamemnon* suffered severely on the occasion. Fourteen of her seamen were killed, and twenty-two wounded; two of her lieutenants, Ingleton, now a vice-admiral, and Brice, were also wounded, the latter mortally.

On the news of this splendid and important victory reaching England, the thanks of parliament were unanimously voted to the commander-in-chief, the captains, officers, seamen, and marines of the fleet.

Captain Caldwell proceeded with the prizes to Jamaica. He then sailed to North America, with Admiral Pigot, with whom he also returned to the West Indies at the close of the year. During the short remainder of the war, nothing farther of importance occurred; and peace being concluded early in the ensuing year, Captain Caldwell returned to England in the month of May 1783. Our officer, we believe, had no farther command till 1787, when, in the armament of that year, he was appointed to the *Alcide*.

In 1790, at the time when a dispute took place between Great Britain and Spain, relative to Nootka Sound, Cap-



tain Caldwell was appointed to the *Berwick*, of 74 guns; but, the difference having been amicably settled, the armament was discontinued, and the *Berwick* was consequently put out of commission.

From this period it does not appear that Captain Caldwell was ever again in active service as a private captain.

On the 1st of February, 1793, he was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the White; and in the winter of that year being appointed to a command in the Channel fleet, under Lord Howe, he hoisted his flag on board the *Cumberland* of 74 guns, Captain T. Louis.

On the 12th of April, 1794, he was farther advanced to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Red, and shifted his flag to the *Impregnable*, of 98 guns, Captain G. B. Westcott.

It was on the 1st of June following, that Lord Howe achieved that important victory over the French fleet, which will be long remembered by Britons with heart-felt exultation. The *Impregnable* in this action had seven killed and twenty four wounded.

It is here particularly worthy of remark, that Rear-Admiral Caldwell, a brave and meritorious officer, whose unrenitting services, whose persevering activity, zeal, and courage, had never, for a long series of years, been once sullied by the breath of calumny or suspicion, was, with several other officers, one of whom was the late Lord Collingwood, omitted in the honorable mention made by Lord Howe, in his official dispatches, of those whom he thought entitled to his "particular thanks" for their exertions.

The Rear-Admiral, though not honored with a medal on the above occasion, was named in the thanks of both Houses of Parliament.

On the 4th of July following, he was made Vice-Admiral of the Blue Squadron. In the month of September he shifted his flag into the *Majestic*, of 74 guns, and on the 13th of the following month sailed with a reinforcement for the Leeward Islands. On the 14th of November he arrived at Martinique, and succeeded Sir John Jervis, whose impaired health obliged him to relinquish the command on the above station.

Vice-Admiral Caldwell being relieved in 1795, by Sir John Laforey, returned to England in the *Blanche* frigate.

On his arrival he struck his flag, and

from that period never solicited employment; but he lived long enough to have his wounded feelings healed by His present Majesty, who, on the 20th of May, 1820, in contemplation of his coronation, was graciously pleased to confer upon him the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, thus rendering happy the latter days of a brave, honorable and faithful subject, ever zealous to promote the welfare of his country. In private life he was a kind, sincere friend, beloved and respected by all who knew him, and died much lamented, at Farleigh House, the residence of his son, near Basingstoke, Hants, the 1st of November, 1820, aged 83.

At the time of his decease, Sir Benjamin was only junior in rank to His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, Admiral of the Fleet; and Admiral the Earl of St. Vincent.

Mrs. Caldwell died at the Admiral's house, in Charles-street, Berkeley-square, on the 20th of September, 1819, aged 73.

CAMPBELL, Admiral Sir George, G. C. B. Commander-in-chief at Portsmouth, and a groom of the bed-chamber to His Majesty. This officer was the third son of the late Pryce Campbell, Esq. of Cawdor Castle, and brother of Lord Cawdor. He was born on the 13th of August, 1761, and entered the navy at an early age. On the 9th of November, 1781, he obtained the rank of post-captain, and, during the remainder of the American war, commanded the *Aurora*, a wretched going frigate, by no means suited to the ardour of so spirited an officer. The *Aurora* was constantly employed in convoying merchant-vessels round the coast of England, Wales, and Ireland. Soon after the general peace, Captain Campbell was appointed to the command of the *Orpheus*, a very fine frigate, stationed in the Mediterranean, and in which he acquired very great credit among the states of Italy, and even among those of Barbary. At the commencement of the revolutionary war, Captain C. commanded the *Leda* frigate, and on the 9th of June, 1793, captured *L'Eclair*, of 22 guns, in the Mediterranean. In the following year he commanded the *Terrible* of 74 guns, which ship formed a part of the fleet under Admiral Hotham, in the partial actions of the 14th of March and 13th of July, 1795, which ended, the former in the capture of the *Ca Ira*, 80, and the *Censeur*, 74; the latter in that of *L'Alcide*, 74. On the 30th of December, 1796, Capt. C.



arrived at Plymouth, in company with a squadron under Rear-admiral Mann, with convoy from Lisbon and Oporto\*. In the month of April, 1798, Capt. C. was appointed to the Dragon of 74 guns, in which ship he continued during the remainder of the time he served as a captain. On the 1st of January, 1801, he was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and hoisted his flag in the Temeraire of 98 guns, attached to the Channel fleet. He was farther advanced to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Blue, 13th December, 1806. In 1809 he had his flag on board the Princess of Orange, 74, in the Downs, as commander-in-chief. In the same year, he sat as a member of the court-martial appointed to try Lord Gambier, for his conduct relative to the operations in Basque Roads. On the 4th of June, 1814, he obtained the rank of Admiral of the Blue. On the 2d of January following he was nominated a Knight Commander of the Bath. On the 21st of May, 1818, Sir George hoisted his flag on board the Queen Charlotte of 108 guns, Captain Thomas Briggs, as commander-in-chief, at Portsmouth, vice Sir Edward Thornborough. On the 12th of August, 1819, he became Admiral of the White. Sir George had, three days previous thereto, entertained His Majesty, then Prince Regent, and the officers of the navy, in commission, at Portsmouth. On the 8th of June following, he received the Grand Cross of the above Order, vacant by the death of Sir Thomas F. Freemantle†.

On the 23d of January, 1821, by one of those unaccountable and extraordinary aberrations of reason, which have lamentably visited at all times, and in all ages, men of every class and every qualification, both mental and personal, Sir George put a period to his existence by shooting himself with a pistol. He was found dead in his dressing-room by his valet, who had left him only five minutes previous. No cause can be assigned for this act, but a peculiar illness had lately afflicted him, which caused occasionally a considerable flow of blood to the head, and occasioned him evident uneasiness, but which by attention, as he was conscious of it, he meant to have removed by medicine and exercise;

though we regret this determination was made too late, as in one of these depressions of spirits and natural oppression in the brain, his profession lost an esteemed member, and the world a good man. He was of the most humane and charitable disposition, and of exemplary domestic habits. Sir George was a Groom of the Bed-Chamber to His late Majesty, whose funeral he attended in that capacity. He had the honor of being highly esteemed by His present Majesty; indeed, they were early friends. In 1819, when His Majesty was cruising in his yacht, he went on shore purposely to dine with Sir George; and in the following season, on the Admiral going on board to pay his respects to His Majesty on his arrival off Portsmouth, the King observed, that he did not intend to go out of the yacht during his stay; and, turning to Sir George, added, in the familiar tone which he always used with him, "I shall not even go on shore to see you, George."

We understand that Lord Melville, on hearing of the death of Sir George, immediately promoted his nephew, the Honorable George Pryce Campbell, commander of the Racehorse, to the rank of post-captain, as an expression of the high sense entertained by his Lordship and the other Lords of the Admiralty, of the character of the deceased Admiral. Sir B. Bloomfield expressed the King's sorrowful feelings, and his kind and gracious wishes to Lady Campbell, on the deeply afflicting event.

*Note.* Sir George was a freeholder of Nairnshire.

CARHAMPTON, Earl of, April 25, at his house in Bruton-street, at two o'clock in the morning, in his 78th year, Henry Lawes Luttrell, Earl of Carhampton, Visc. Carhampton of Castlehaven, Baron Irnham of Luttrellstown, Governor of Dublin, Patent Customer at Bristol, a General in the army, and Colonel of the 6th regiment of dragoon guards, born August 7, 1743; married June 25, 1776, Jane, daughter of Geo. Loyd, of Dublin, Esq. one of the most beautiful women of her day, as well as the most amiable. Her ladyship survives him. He was brother to the beautiful Miss Luttrell, the late Duchess of Cumberland. His Lordship succeeded to his titles on the death of his father, in 1787. Creations of the first nobleman, the father of the deceased: baron, 1768; viscount, 1781; earl, 1785. His Lordship is succeeded in his titles and estates by his only brother, the Hon. John

\* Windsor Castle, 98, flag-ship, Capt. Edw. O'Brien; Saturn, 74, Jas. Douglas; Defence, 74, Thos. Wells; and Adamant, 50, H. Warre.

† See a former volume.

Luttrell Olmius, now Earl of Carhampton, &c. who assumed the name of Olmius on succeeding to the estates of Lord Waltham. His Lordship's death also makes a vacancy in the representation of the borough of Ludgershall, for which he was returned to the House of Commons. He stood third on the list of generals; those preceding him being the Marquis of Drogheda and Earl Harcourt. Lord Carhampton, when Col. Luttrell, opposed the late John Wilkes, Esq. at the memorable election for Middlesex. Some years since he purchased the beautiful and well-known estate, Pains-Hill, at Cobham, Surrey, which had been rendered a delightful promenade by the late Mr. Hamilton, and his successor, Benjamin Bond Hopkins, Esq. The park and grounds were continued in the same style and neatness by his Lordship; in doing which his philanthropy was, among other traits of generosity, eminently conspicuous, by constantly employing a number of old and impotent labourers (who must now evidently be maintained by their respective parishes) in regularly keeping the walks and grounds peculiarly clean and neat. His charities were extensive, but without ostentation, and his loss will be deeply regretted in the neighbourhood of his residence.

The family of Luttrell is of Norman origin, and flourished from a very early period in Lincolnshire and Somersetshire. The late Earl sold the estate of Luttrellstown, co. Dublin, which was granted by King John to Sir Geoffry Luttrell, his ancestor, to Mr. Luke White. The first of the Luttrell family, who resided on the Luttrellstown estate, was Robert Luttrell, younger son of Sir Hugh Luttrell of Dunster Castle, county of Somerset, by Jane Beaumont: he died 15 Henry VI. seized of the castle and lands of Luttrellstown.

CAWDOR, Lord, June 1, in Great Pultney-street, Bath, the Right Hon. John Campbell, Baron Cawdor, of Castlemartin, in Pembrokeshire. He was the eldest son of Pryse Campbell, of Cawdor and Stacpole-court, Esq. M. P. for the counties of Cromartie and Nairn, 1762, and a Lord of the Treasury, 1766. The late lord was elected M. P. for Cardigan, 1780, 1784, 1790; and on the dissolution of parliament in 1796, was called to the House of Peers. His lordship married June 27, 1789, Lady Caroline Howard, eldest daughter of Frederic Earl of Carlisle, K. G.; and by her had two sons.

CONOLLY, Lady Louisa, Aug. 6, at Castletown-house, co. Kildare. Her death was occasioned by a (presumed) abscess on the hip, under which she suffered much, for above two years, with a fortitude and resignation which a long life of exemplary piety and benevolence could alone enable her to exert.

This inestimable lady appeared to take no pleasure but in doing good to others, and lessening the sum of human misery, as far as she could ascertain, either by private information or actual observation. Her list of poor pensioners was extremely numerous; her occasional charities unceasing and unlimited; and she supported a school of about 600 children at Celbridge. She has frequently sent considerable sums to persons in distressed circumstances, who were ashamed to ask relief, and often by a mode so concealed, that their benefactress could not be known.

Her ladyship's income is said to have been 8,000*l.* a year, and never was a share of fortune's gifts more auspiciously distributed; never had influence a more worthy possessor; never did riches come into hands more magnificently liberal; for, perhaps, it would not be too much to say, that she expended more in real charity annually, than any prince or crowned head in Europe. The loss, the affliction that must be occasioned by her death—but that is a subject on which it would be painful to enlarge.

In point of family, Lady Louisa Conolly stands in the highest rank. She was relict of the Right Hon. Thomas Conolly, and related to no fewer than five dukes, amongst whom are Leinster, Wellington, and Richmond, and she was also related to the Marchioness of Londonderry, and several personages of the first distinction. The fine mansion of Castletown, the largest country house in the British empire, together with the estate, devolves, we believe, to Colonel Edward M. Pakenham, of the Donegal militia.

CROMWELL, Oliver, Esq., at Cheshunt, aged 79, great grandson of Henry Cromwell, fourth son of the Protector. In a late supplement we gave extracts of his memoirs of his ancestor, a work in which he displayed good principles, though, like all his family, since 1660, he played a subdued part in politics, and lived in constant fear of committing himself or being committed. He formerly practised as a solicitor in Essex-street, and was also well



known in London as clerk to St. Thomas's Hospital. For some years he resided in retirement, and amused himself by writing the memoirs which, about two years ago, were published. He is survived by a widow and a daughter. Mr. C. was in possession of many curious family papers, and relics.

CASSEL, Elector of Hesse, Feb. 27. In consequence of an apoplectic fit, in his 78th year, his Serene and Royal Highness William, Elector of Hesse Cassel, born June 3, 1743; married Sept. 1, 1764, Wilhelmina Carolina, daughter of Frederick V. King of Denmark; by whom he had issue, 1. Maria Duchess of Anhalt, Sept. 14, 1768; 2. Caroline, Duchess of Saxe Gotha, July 11, 1771; 3. William, now Elector of Hesse, born July 28, 1777, who married Feb. 13, 1797, Augusta, daughter of William II. king of Prussia, by whom he has issue. The late Elector was immensely rich. In his private treasury, was found a sum of 12,000,000 francs in specie. Of this sum 10 millions were destined to be sent to M. Rothschild, at Francfort, to be employed for the second loan negotiated by that banker on account of Austria.

#### D.

DESART, Earl of, November 22. At his seat, at Desart, county of Kilkenny, in his 33d year, the Right Honourable John Otway Cuffe, Earl of Desart, Viscount Castlecuffe, Viscount and Baron Desart. This amiable and much regretted young nobleman was born February 20, 1788; succeeded his father, Otway, Earl of Desart, August 9, 1804; married Oct. 7, 1817, Catherine, eldest daughter of Maurice N. O'Connor, Esq. of Mount Pleasant, King's County, (claimant to the ancient peerage of Killeen, as heir general of Peter, fourth Earl of Fingall, and thirteenth Baron Killeen,) and had issue an only son, John Otway O'Connor, Viscount Castlecuffe, born October 12, 1818, now third Earl of Desart, and fifth Baron. He is a strong, healthy, and lovely child. The late peer was the only son of Otway, third Baron Desart, created Viscount Desart in 1781, and further advanced in 1793, to the dignities of Viscount Castlecuffe and Earl of Desart, by the Lady Anne Browne, eldest daughter of John, Earl of Almont, and sister of John Denis, first Marquis of Sligo. His Lordship was

extremely beloved and respected in his neighbourhood, where he was eminently active in upholding the public peace, and advancing the true interests of his country. In 1808, the earl was elected a member of the House of Commons for the borough of Bossiney.

With much gratification we subjoin a character of this amiable nobleman, as sent to us by a correspondent:

"His opening talents and early habits afforded the happiest presages of distinction. He studied the moral and political history of his country; and acquired a general and practical knowledge of its past condition, and present resources. He entered early into public life with the fairest hopes of attaining eminence; unhappily ill health soon checked the course of his laudable ambition. But his patriotic feeling, the ceaseless impulse of active benevolence, still engaged him in a life of usefulness, even in domestic retirement. The energies of his mind found a sphere for exertion in promoting the local interests of his country; which not even the increasing delicacy of his health could abate. His principles were as sound as his integrity was inflexible. Truth and honor were governing impulses in every action of his life. By living on his estate, he gave a new face to that part of the country. His tenants prospered in industry, and advanced in comfort under his protection. Warm in his attachments, his candour never suffered him to induce a hope which he did not zealously endeavour to realise. His disposition was cheerful, his manners finished and engaging; and his quick and lively fancy lent a charm to conversation, which rarely failed to raise emotions of intellectual pleasure. His courage and his fortitude were invincible; to his latest moments, his serenity remained unruffled, his intellect unclouded, and the elevation of his soul became more apparent, as he felt the nearer approach of his awful change. They who surrounded his death-bed witnessed an impressive example in the exalted piety, the Christian resignation, the calm, full of hope, with which this virtuous nobleman, in the prime of life, and in the full enjoyment of domestic happiness, sunk into the grave.

DYSART, Wilbraham, Earl of, March 9. At Ham House, Surrey, in the 82d year of his age, the Right Honourable Wilbraham Tollemache, Earl of Dysart, and Baron Huntingtower, of the kingdom of Scotland, a Baronet,



and High Steward of the borough of Ipswich.

His Lordship was born October 21, 1739, and inherited the estates of his maternal ancestors, the Wilbrahams of Woodhey in Cheshire. At an early age he was appointed an officer in the royal navy, which service he soon relinquished, and entered into the army. In 1760 he was promoted to a company in the 106th regiment of foot, which he retained until the reduction of that regiment in 1763. In 1765 he exchanged his half pay for a company in the 6th regiment of foot, and was major of that regiment when he quitted the army, in 1775. In 1768 he stood a severe contest for the representation for the borough of Ipswich, in which, however, he was unsuccessful. On a vacancy, in 1771, he was chosen a Burgess of the town of Northampton; and re-chosen at the general election in 1774. In 1780, he was elected a Burgess of the borough of Leckrard; and served the office of high sheriff for the county palatine of Chester, in 1785. On the death of his brother Lionel, the fourth Earl of Dysart, February 22, 1799, he succeeded him in the earldom, and, in 1806, the gallant Lord Viscount Nelson, in the high stewardship of the borough of Ipswich.

During the latter years of his lordship's life, he withdrew from all political concerns; mingled seldom in promiscuous company; and was rarely or ever seen in *public*, and what is called *fashionable* life. He chiefly divided his time between the mansions of Ham in Surrey, of Helmingham in Suffolk, and of the beautiful marine villa of Steephill in the Isle of Wight. At each of these places he resided in a retired yet dignified manner, exercising all the bounty of old English hospitality, and indulging himself in extensive acts and distributions of charity. In these retreats, he passed his time in what the world calls solitude; but the calm and sequestered shades of Helmingham, the mild beauties of the gardens at Ham, and the grand and romantic scenery of Steephill, had charms sufficiently attractive to rivet his attention, and to recreate his hours. Here also he had not only his books and his paintings about him, but an hospitable and a noble table, at which all who were honored with his acquaintance or friendship, were received with attention, and entertained with the heartiest welcome. His proficiency in drawing, painting, and the fine arts,

was considerable; and to the advancement and interests of science, which formed, indeed, the chief solace of his leisure hours, he paid no inconsiderable attention. His Lordship's manners were highly polished, and of the *old school*; his conversation instructive; his mind well-informed; his judgment sound; and his principles inflexible and honorable. To the late Countess, he was conspicuous in his attachment; and to the close of his life cherished, the memory of her many great and amiable virtues with a singular and unalterable affection. To his servants and dependents he was a humane and generous, nay, a noble master; and to his tenants, the best and most liberal of landlords. His loss, therefore, will be severely felt by these, as well as by the poor of his immediate neighbourhood, in relieving the wants of whom he was a most assiduous, yet unostentatious benefactor.

His Lordship married, February 4, 1773, Anna Maria, the eldest daughter of David Lewis, of Malvern Hall, in the county of Warwick, Esq. (the sister of his brother's wife, the present Countess Dowager of Dysart), who died at Ham House, September 14, 1804, in the 59th year of her age, and was buried with great pomp in the vault of his Lordship's ancestors at Helmingham. Her character is thus elegantly delineated on her monument in the church of that parish:

" Her death was lamented and regretted by all, and particularly by her afflicted and disconsolate husband, who erected this Monument as a mark, faint as it is, of his grief and affection; and to perpetuate the memory of the most excellent of women. Religion, virtue, worth, benevolence, charity, beauty, and innocence, all these she possessed in an eminent degree: and her loss was irreparable to her husband, to her relations, and to her friends.

Come, Virgins! ere in equal hands ye join,  
Come first and offer at her sacred shrine;  
Pray that your vows, like her's, may be  
return'd, [mourn'd.]  
So lov'd when living, and when dead so

By the decease of his Lordship, the very ancient and highly respectable family of Tollemache has become extinct in the male line, — a family which has flourished in the greatest repute, and in an uninterrupted male succession in the county of Suffolk, from the arrival of the Saxons in this kingdom to the pre-

sent time; a period of more than 1,300 years.

Of a family of such high antiquity and distinction, and which has borne so conspicuous a part in the annals and history of the county, the reader of this memoir will surely pardon me, if I indulge myself in giving a slight account. With the native of Suffolk, indeed, so long familiarized with the race, it cannot fail of interest; for who is there, I will ask, sincerely attached to his county, who does not, whilst he peruses these "records of ancestry," regret the extinction of the name of **TOL-LEMACHE?**

"His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani  
Munere." T.

### E.

**EDRIDGE, Henry, Esq. A. B. A. & F. S. A.** was born at Paddington, August, 1769. His father, who was in business, in the parish of St. James, Westminster, died at the age of 44, leaving his widow and five children very scantily provided for. Henry was the youngest but one of this family, and if we except a short time passed at a school at Acton, the principal part of his education was afforded him by his mother, who has been described as a woman of very superior mind, and possessing great prudence and forethought in the management of her family.

In consequence of young Edridge's early predilection for painting, his mother, at the advice of her friends, was induced to place him, at the age of fourteen years, with Mr. Pether, an artist well known as a mezzotinto engraver and painter of landscape, but the rising artist reluctantly submitted to copy the works of others, and his ready hand, in delineating after nature, was soon turned to profitable purpose by his master, who employed him in painting portraits during the remainder of the seven years for which he was bound.

Two years after the expiration of his apprenticeship, he became a student of the Royal Academy, where, in 1786, he had the good fortune to obtain a medal for the best drawing of an Academy figure. About this period, he attracted the notice of Sir Joshua Reynolds, the then president, of whose pictures he was in the habit of copying in miniature for his own amusement. Notwithstanding the scale upon which they were executed, these small pieces possessed all

the breadth, colour, and force of the originals. Upon one occasion Sir Joshua was so much pleased with his performance, that he desired to have the copy, which was, of course, readily offered for his acceptance. This, however, he declined, and the young artist having been prevailed on to name a price, Sir Joshua not only paid him double the amount, but meeting him a few days afterwards, insisted upon making him a still further payment, observing that he had since sold the drawing to a nobleman for a considerable profit, and was therefore his debtor for the difference.

In 1789, Mr. Edridge married a lady from Taunton, Devonshire, of the name of Smith, and established himself as a portrait painter, in Dufour's Place, Golden Square, in which retired situation he raised himself to the greatest celebrity, proving that merit such as his did not require the adventitious aid of outward circumstances to insure its success.

In 1801 Mr. Edridge removed from Dufour's Place to Margaret-street, where he continued to practise his profession till his death. He had two children, the eldest, a daughter, who died May 1, 1807, in the 17th year of her age; the other, a son, who died July 20, 1820, at almost the precise age of his sisters. He was a youth of great promise, and his premature death was an affliction from which Mr. Edridge never wholly recovered. He had watched over his son with an unwearied solicitude which none can appreciate but those who feel the strength of parental anxiety, and have mourned the loss of an only child. It would be difficult to describe the feelings and sufferings he experienced at his loss, and though he bowed with submission to the will of Heaven, his constitution sunk under the blow. For many years previous to his last illness, Mr. Edridge had occasionally laboured under considerable difficulty of respiration, which in January last greatly increased, and while suffering under a most distressing oppression of breath, he was attacked by spasms in the chest, from which he endured extreme torture. For above three months he had a few intervals of ease, but during all that time his mind retained its accustomed vigour, and his fortitude in sustaining his afflicting illness, together with his Christian resignation to the will of God, was the admiration of those who witnessed it.

Mr. Edridge had always an exqui-



site taste for the picturesque beauties of landscape, but the extent of his practice in drawing portraits prevented the devotion of much time to this his favourite pursuit, until after the death of his son, when, having no longer a motive for adhering to the lucrative part of his profession, he indulged his inclination, and the drawings which he afterwards made from various scenes of nature are most admirable. In 1817, and again in 1819, he visited France, where he found ample materials for the exercise of his taste in the picturesque buildings of Paris, and still more interesting scenery of Normandy; the drawings made from these sketches, which were exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1820, as well as those of the present year, leave us to regret that this branch of art had not at least shared a greater portion of his earlier time.

The late Mr. Hearn was the master from whom Mr. Edridge first acquired his taste and skill for sketching landscape scenery; a master, whose best works will ever be esteemed so long as there is any admiration for fidelity, united to the best qualities of the art. There was a timidity, however, in Mr. H.'s manner which seemed to restrain him from venturing on these bold effects and strong transitions of chiaro-scuro, that have since his time been the admiration of the public. In this respect Mr. Edridge stepped far beyond his master, though he did not practise it. Mr. E. about two years ago, painted three pictures in oil colours; two of them were small landscapes, and the third was a copy from Teniers.

In his habits, Mr. Edridge was perfectly domestic, and possessed those endearing qualities which gained him the affection of all who knew him. His moral character was pure and without a blemish. To the strictest integrity he superadded the most refined and gentlemanlike manners. In society, his quickness and repartee, softened as it was by the gentleness of his address, was particularly interesting. His thoughts were vigorously conceived, and concisely expressed, and there never perhaps was a man more entitled from his accomplishments, high judgment, and justness of sentiment, to move in the polished circles of life. In this society he was courted and caressed, and was distinguished by the friendship and affection of many in the highest rank, which continued with unabated kindness to the hour of his death.

Upon the whole, the life of this excellent man affords an observation, not unworthy of remark. A private and humble individual, without fortune or family, he raised himself, by his own talents and conduct, to be the friend and associate of the most distinguished men in the country, and with feelings in direct hostility with every attempt to invade public opinion by meretricious contrivances and plausible deception, honorably accumulated ample means for independence.

Mr. Edridge died April 23, 1821, at his house in Margaret-street, Cavendish-square. He was admitted a member of the Antiquarian Society in 1814, and of the Royal Academy in 1820.

ELLISTON, Mrs., aged 46, the lady of W. Elliston, Esq. manager of Drury-lane theatre. She had retired to rest apparently in better health than usual, but was suddenly attacked by an hysteric affection, to which she had been subject for the last two years, and expired in about ten minutes. To brilliant personal accomplishments, she added an exemplary private character.

## F.

FARQUHAR, Sir Walter, Bart. M. D. late physician to the King, &c. &c. The life of this medical practitioner carries a moral along with it, as it will prove how much may be effected by a liberal education, talents, perseverance, and a good character. Walter Farquhar was the son of a clergyman of the church of Scotland, who had always distinguished himself alike for his rational piety and profound erudition: He was born at his father's house, in the vicinity of Aberdeen, about the year 1740, and received his education in that town, which has always been noted for the excellence of its instructors.

On being removed to the Marischal College, founded by the munificence of an ancient Scottish family, young Farquhar determined on the study of medicine. He accordingly acquired the rudiments of his profession under Dr. Gregory, a physician of some note, and after remaining for four years as a student, obtained the degree of M. A.

To enlarge his acquaintance with the science to which he had determined to addict himself, he repaired both to Edinburgh and Glasgow, the former being noted, at that time, as the ablest



school of medicine in Europe, while the latter attracted many pupils in consequence of the celebrity of some of its professors. Preferring an active to a sedentary life, at the age of 23, Mr. Farquhar obtained the situation of surgeon's-mate to the 19th regiment of foot, which he accompanied to the siege of Bellisle. It was his good fortune, on this occasion, to attend on Lord Howe, who commanded the naval expedition. He cured his lordship of a slight wound, and was ever after noticed and supported by that nobleman.

On his arrival, soon after, with his regiment at Gibraltar, Mr. Farquhar readily perceived the advantages arising out of an enlightened and extended education. France having, at that period, acquired a high reputation for surgery, he, determined, if possible, to repair thither. Application was accordingly made to his commanding officer, the late Lieut.-general, then Col. Townshend, who granted him leave of absence, for the express purpose of fulfilling a mission so worthy of his professional character. At Rouen, he not only obtained the notice, but actually resided with the celebrated Le Cat, who, at that period, superintended the hospital there. He next repaired to Paris, and lived in constant intercourse with all the first medical men in that capital. He was by this time advanced to the rank of surgeon, and such was his high reputation, on his return to head-quarters, that he was consulted on every singular or difficult case that occurred in the garrison.

Like his predecessor, Sir J. Pringle, who had also been an army-surgeon, he was determined to resign all connexions with his regiment, and offer himself a candidate for practice in the capital. He accordingly repaired to London, but did not at first assume the character of a physician. Indeed, he remained many years without a degree, and being settled in Marlborough-street, soon obtained a most lucrative and extensive practice. Fortune was now within his grasp, or rather in his possession; and yet he determined to risk every thing, by entering on a new but more profitable branch of his profession. He accordingly obtained a doctor's degree, and practised for many years as a licenciate of the College of Physicians. In this career he soon obtained considerable eminence; and as it was his good fortune to attend and to cure both Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, while afflicted with slight maladies, this circumstance added not a

little to his reputation, so that he now became popular. To the first Lord Melville, whom we have just mentioned, he was indebted for the rank and title of a baronet; but if we are not mistaken greatly, it was Sir John Macpherson, late governor-general of India, who presented him to his present Majesty, while Prince of Wales; this led to the appointment of physician to the Regent, who became his patient.

Sir Walter Farquhar, in 1807, when the College of Physicians applied to the College of Surgeons for information, to enable them to fulfil, in the most comprehensive manner, the commands of government; Sir Walter, among others, was applied to for his opinion on this subject. To the question—"To enquire into the present state of inoculation in the United Kingdom; to report observations and opinions on that practice upon the evidence adduced in its support; and upon the cases which have further retarded its general adoption;" he replied as follows: "That one of his grand-children was inoculated with the cow-pox. He is of opinion that the vaccine inoculation is a permanent security against variolous infection, and it never has proved fatal. The general computation of the mortality of the small-pox, when performed in the best manner, is about one in 300."

In 1813, Sir Walter Farquhar began to think of retiring from practice, in consequence of an affection of his lungs, which he alleviated by means of phlebotomy, in express opposition to the opinion of all his physicians. After this he continued to visit his friends until a little before his death, which occurred in December, 1819.

The subject of this memoir, soon after settling in London, married Mrs. Harvie, whose husband had been a physician of some eminence in Jamaica. By this lady he had several sons and daughters. One of the former is a banker in St. James's-street, while another is Governor of the Island of Mauritius, has acquired great praise, by his meritorious conduct.

FRANCISCO, Henry, at Whitehall, near New York, aged 134 years, after an illness of 45 days. He was a native of England, and had emigrated 80 or 90 years ago. He was one of the drummers at Queen Anne's coronation.

#### G.

GREEN, Thomas, Esq. October 14, after a few days illness, at his residence

in Blenheim-street, Bond-street. This very amiable and intelligent young gentleman was the son of a respectable surgeon at Woburn in Bedfordshire. He received and profited by a liberal education; and, to facilitate his progress in the study of surgery, was placed by his excellent father with an eminent physician, in the metropolis, during which period he was appointed to attend as an assistant-surgeon at the Middlesex Hospital. A short time subsequent to this, Mr. Green was, upon the recommendation of Sir William Adams, (whose kind encouragement of all meritorious and talented individuals deserves the highest praise,) constituted assistant-surgeon to the Ophthalmic Hospital; in which employment he had been only a few months occupied, when he was seized with a sudden and dangerous illness, which in a few days deprived the public of his valuable services. To a competent skill in his profession, he superadded a degree of taste for elegant literature, not often to be met with in persons engaged in the more grave professions.

Mr. Thomas Green's general intelligence, and gentlemanlike demeanor, had endeared him to a large and respectable circle of friends, by whom his memory will be long and affectionately cherished.

Should our readers require any apology for the introduction of this brief notice of a private individual, it may, perhaps, be sufficient to mention that the subject of it was the personal friend of the editor of this volume, and as such may be considered as having some claim to a

"passing paragraph of praise," in a work devoted to the record of many more eminent, but few more amiable, members of society than Mr. Green.

## II.

HARGRAVE, Francis, Esq. A memoir of this distinguished counsellor, illustrated by a great variety of important and most interesting documents, is in course of preparation for our next volume.

HAYES, James, Esq. March 4. in Great Surry-street, Blackfriars Road, in his 82d year, who has left his valuable estates in Suffolk to the Rev. Dr. Tomline, Lord Bishop of Winchester; and also the following sums in charitable donations: 3000*l.* stock to the Bethlehem Hospital; 10,000*l.* to Christ's Hospital for annuities of 10*l.* each to

the blind, and 10,000*l.* for the general use of the charity; 5000*l.* to the London Hospital; 5000*l.* to St. Luke's; 5000*l.* to the Deaf and Dumb Charity; 5000*l.* to the School for Indigent Blind; 5000*l.* to the National Society; 4000*l.* to the parish of Barking; 1000*l.* to Little Ilford, Essex; 1000*l.* to St. Gabriel's, Fenchurch-street; and 2000*l.* to Christ Church, Surry, for the benefit of the poor; 5000*l.* for the sick and maimed seamen in the merchant service; 200*l.* to the Company of Glass Sellers for its poor; and 100*l.* to the poor of Allhallows Staining, Mark-lane.

HAYTI, *Christophe, King of; alias Henry I.*, Oct. 8. at Sans Souci, in the 53d year of his age. A revolution was formed by seven of the chiefs, but so secret was it kept, that not a single person knew of it until it broke out, which was on the night of the 6th Oct. On that evening they assembled all the troops in the town, and marched them out to Haut-du-Cape, distant from this about five miles. Immediately on the King's hearing it, which was by an express, he sent from Sans Souci, (where he lay very sick,) to give certain orders to the governor, which express was sent back to acquaint the King that they no longer acknowledged him as their ruler. He sent for his favourite chief, with orders to collect all the force possible, and to march against the rebels; and, on their arrival at the Cape, to murder every mulatto and white, without exception; but, previous to their leaving Sans Souci, he ordered them into his presence, and flattered them very much, gave them four dollars each, and promised them, if they succeeded in their expedition, that they might pillage the Cape, and that their situations should be made as comfortable as they could wish. In the mean time the Independents prepared themselves for action. On the arrival of the King's troops at Haut-du-Cape, on the 8th, where the Independent army were stationed, several skirmishes took place; but the Independents, not wishing that any blood should be spilled, hoisted the white flag; and, immediately the King's troops saw that, they laid down their arms, and came over. Their chief (Duke Fort Royal) seeing the troops abandon him, fled, but has since been taken prisoner. The King, finding the troops under the command of the Duke Fort Royal, which consisted of all the force he had at Sans Souci,



excepting his body guard, had gone over to the Independents, and seeing there was no chance of escaping, as it would have taken considerable time to have collected another force, shot himself through the heart at about 11 o'clock at night. Since his death the different armies have joined the cause without firing a shot. When the soldiers pillaged the palace at Sans Souci, they found 240,000 dollars, or thereabouts.

Christophe was born in the island of St. Christopher, one of the Windward Islands. He was conveyed to the Cape (Français) when the French took that island from the English in 1780. He was then sold as a servant, being about 12 years of age. His master taught him the art of cookery, in which he excelled. In 1789, he was purveyor and cook of the Crown tavern and hotel, kept in Spanish-street, at the Cape, by Miss Montgeon, to whom he belonged. The revolution made Christophe the ring-leader of revolts, and he discovered some military talents under Touissant Louverture. In 1802, he betrayed General Leclerc, who had confided to him the command of a division at the advanced posts; and at the death of Dessalines, he grasped the supreme authority, and assumed the appellation of King Henry. His ferocity caused him to be dreaded, and, in time, powerful: instructed in military tactics by European officers, he established the bulwark of his forces and of his power in the estates of Grandpre, Milloland Dubreuil, in the quarter of the Bonnet, and the Tannery, the best military position, and the most commanding in the plain of the Cape. There he built Sans Souci, a delightful retreat, and a sort of town, defended by numerous forts and redoubts.

Whatever may be said of the cruelty and despotic conduct of Christophe, yet he must be regarded, under all the peculiarities of his situation, as a being of extraordinary enterprise, decision, and energy. In almost every town in his dominions, he established a school on the system of Bell and Lancaster, where the male children were gratuitously instructed in English and French, and in arithmetic; and one of his favourite objects was to establish the English language as that of his subjects. The country was divided according to the French system, into *arrondissements*, of which the number was twelve. The administration of justice was regularly provided for, and on great occasions the

council of state acted as a military tribunal. The military establishment was very numerous and efficient, comprising 20 regiments of infantry, two of cavalry, and two of artillery. Besides this force, there were the royal guards, splendidly equipped, and a regiment of women, called the Amazons, of which the Queen was *colonel*. The royal calendar issued for the use of the court, contains no less than 147 pages, neatly printed. It gives not only the names of the ministers, but subjoined to them are short notices, in which the duties of their several offices are summed up. The appearance of the court was not destitute of splendour, although rather tawdry than elegant.

Christophe was not unconscious of the hatred which was felt towards him in consequence of his extreme and cruel rigour. He once observed to a distinguished British officer, that he knew he was considered a tyrant, but that it was necessary to be so; the people would be more fit for liberty hereafter. With his usual arbitrary violence he introduced marriage, which was almost unknown, by making a tour of his territories with his archbishop, and compelling couples to be united in matrimony. His vigilance and activity were as remarkable as his unrelenting severity to all who incurred his displeasure. No persons in authority, either civil or military, were ever secure from his visits; and it was never known to what point his rapid movements were directed. He had amassed immense treasure at Sans Souci, which was rapidly improving; and had also collected there large stores of provisions.

HUNLOKE, the Dowager Lady, January 22. in Saville Row, was the sister of Mr. Coke, of Holkham, and the relict of Sir Henry Hunloke, an ancient baronet, and connected by blood and alliance with many noble houses; but those adventitious circumstances were forgotten in the influence of her personal character. With all the lighter accomplishments of her sex and station, she combined powers of mind that wanted, perhaps, but the stimulus they might have had in a less elevated rank, to produce permanent memorials of their existence. She was acquainted with the Latin classics, and had a facile possession of all the polite languages of Europe, and there were few subjects which her active intelligence did not embrace. Such endowments were unalloyed by any tincture of pedantry, and



the playfulness of her imagination was the delight and charm of society. Possessing the most diffusive urbanity, and the kindest disposition, her influence was very considerable; and a return home at all times to her residence (at Wingerworth) after any absence, was hailed with joy and congratulation. If a schism in the neighbourhood, or a family quarrel, existed, she was sure to be called on as the arbitress, and was generally successful. The late Duke of Devonshire has often been heard to remark, that his parties at Chatsworth and London were always deficient if Lady Hunloke was absent. Malice never had access to her bosom, nor ever painted for her any of those flashes of intelligence and wit which raised her conversation above the ordinary level. The claims of benevolence never sought her in vain. In the domestic charities her life was happy, and their blessings cheered her parting hour.

The remains of this amiable and excellent lady have been interred at the family vault, Wingerworth, in Derbyshire.

HUNT, the Rev. John, Nov. 28. rector of Welford, Gloucestershire, and author of a translation of Tasso. A notice of this gentleman in our next.

### J.

JONES, Evan, Colonel, of Gellewig, Carnarvonshire, March 25, at Rose Hill, near Wrexham. Mr. Jones was born in June, 1771, and entered the army as ensign in 1791. In 1793 he embarked with his regiment, the 23d or Welsh Fusileers, from Cork, for the West Indies, under Sir Charles Grey, and landed at Martinique. He served at the reduction of Pigeon Isle, Fort Royal, St. Pierre, Fort Bourbon, and other French possessions in that island. He was present also at the taking of Gaudaloupe and other French islands in the Caribbean Sea, with many of their possessions in St. Domingo. He was nearly carried off in that climate by the yellow fever; but a negro woman, his nurse, wrapped him in a sheet or blanket, strongly impregnated with vinegar, which arrested the rage of that dreadful malady. He, with his gallant regiment, greatly distinguished themselves at the Helder, in 1792, and in the subsequent battles in Holland, under that veteran and gallant Gen. Sir Ralph Abercrombie. He served also under the same general in Egypt. At the memorable battle on the heights

of Nicopolis, near Alexandria, on the 21st of March 1801, when the brave Abercrombie fell, the 58th, 42d, and 23d regiments charged with the bayonet the *Invincibles* of France, as they had been hitherto called, took their standard, and drove them off the field. The 23d and 40th regiments, forming the advance of the British army in dislodging the enemy from the sand hills, on which they were stationed. Colonel Jones (for he rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel) and the 23d were employed in other expeditions of inferior note till 1807, when they were attached to that under Lord Cathcart against Copenhagen. In 1808 he married Anna-Maria-Kenyon, daughter of Roger Kenyon, Esq. of Cefu, near Wrexham, brother of the eminent Lord Chief Justice Kenyon, and uncle to the excellent nobleman who now bears that name and title. He then quitted the army, and retired to his maternal property in Carnarvonshire, where he amused himself with agricultural pursuits, enjoying *otium cum dignitate*. In his domestic relations, Colonel Jones was not only unimpeachable, but most exemplary, fulfilling the several duties of son, husband, friend, and master, with that affection and rectitude inseparable from a character of his magnanimity. He was a sincere Christian, and therefore anxious to discharge every duty towards God and man. Though temperate, he was very cheerful and fond of society. "Colonel Jones, with the gallant 23d," was a standing toast in every convivial meeting in his part of the principality; and it was at some such meeting that an officer of very high rank, said, "I drink Colonel Jones with infinite satisfaction, for a braver soldier never trod the field of battle." And a most respectable magistrate, who lived nearest to him in the country, a colonel also in the service, observed of him to me, after his decease, "When living I loved my neighbour as myself; no man deserved the esteem and respect of his friends more than Evan Jones, of Gellewig. He was an upright, honorable, honest man; and he, like his late commander, poor Sir Ralph Abercrombie, is embalmed in the memory of his countrymen." Emphatic words and full of meaning. Although I was not in the habit of meeting him above five or six times in the year, yet I knew him well, and had the most sincere respect and esteem for his character as a friend and as a man. He has left no family, except an amiable widow and a mother, with

many a feeling friend, to deplore his departure from among them.

*His saltem accumulæ donis, et fungar  
inani*

*Munere* ———

Such artless meed who would not fain  
indite,

To greet his spirit in the realms of light?  
*Guernarvonshire. P.W.*

## K.

KETTLEWELL, Lumley, Esq.

At the close of the year 1819, terminated the singular life of Lumley Kettlewell, Esq., of Clementhorpe, near York. He died of wretched voluntary privation, poverty, cold, filth, and personal neglect, in obscure lodgings, in the street called the Pavement (whither he had removed from his own house a little while before), about 70 years of age. His fortune, manners, and education had made him a gentleman; but from some unaccountable bias in the middle of life, he renounced the world, its comforts, pleasure, and honors for the life of a hermit. His person was delicate, rather below the middle size, and capable of great exertion and activity. His countenance, singularly refined and scientific, reminded us of a French alchemist of the middle ages. His dress was mean, squalid, tattered, and composed of the most opposite and incongruous garments; sometimes a fur cap with a ball room coat (bought at an old-clothes' shop), and hussar boots; at another, time a high-crowned London hat, with a coat or jacket of oilskin, finished off with the torn remains of black silk stockings, and so forth. His manners were polished, soft, and gentlemanly, like those of Chesterfield, and the old court. Early in life he shone in the sports of the field; and he kept blood horses and game dogs to the last: but the former he invariably starved to death, or put such rough, crude, and strange provender before them, that they gradually declined into so low a condition, that the ensuing winter never failed to terminate their career, and their places were as regularly supplied by a fresh stud. The dogs also were in such a plight that they were scarcely able to go about in search of food in the shambles or on the dung-hills. A fox was usually one of his inmates; and he had Muscovy ducks, and a brown Maltese ass, of an uncommon size, which shared the fate of his horses,

dying for want of proper food and warmth. All these animals inhabited the same house with himself, and they were his only companions; for no mortal, (*i. e.* human being) was allowed to enter that mysterious mansion. The front door was strongly barricaded within, and he always entered by the garden, which communicated with the Clementhorpe fields, and thence climbed up by a ladder into a small aperture that had once been a window. He did not sleep in a bed, but in a potter's crate filled with hay, into which he crept about three or four o'clock in the morning, and came out again about noon the following day. His money used to be laid about in his window-seats, and on his tables; and, from the grease it had contracted by its transient lodgment in his breeches pockets, the bank notes were once or twice devoured by rats. His own aliment was most strange and uninviting; vinegar and water his beverage; cocks' heads, with their wattles and combs, baked on a pudding of bran and treacle, formed his most dainty dish; occasionally he treated himself with rabbits' feet; he liked tea and coffee, but these were indulgences too great for every day. He read and wrote at all hours not occupied with the care of the aforesaid numerous domestic animals, and what he called the sports of the field. His integrity was spotless; his word at all times being equal to other men's bonds. He professed no religion. He used to carry about with him a large sponge, and on long walks or rides he would now and then stop, dip the sponge in water, and soak the top of his head with it, saying it refreshed him far more than food or wine. He admitted no visitor whatever at his own house; but sometimes went to see any person of whose genius or eccentricity he had conceived an interesting opinion; and he liked on these visits to be treated with a cup of tea or coffee, books, and a pen and ink; he then sat down close to the fire, rested his elbows on his knee, and, almost in a double posture, would read till morning, or make extracts of passages peculiarly striking to him. His favourite subjects were the pedigree of blood-horses, the writings of freethinkers, chemistry, and natural history.

L.

LINDSAY, Rev. Dr. Feb. 14, in  
his 67th year, the Rev. James Lindsay,



D.D. of Grove Hall, Bow, Middlesex, upwards of 35 years minister of the Presbyterian Meeting, Monkwell street. He had, with other Protestant dissenting ministers of the three denominations, assembled at Dr. Williams's library, in Red Cross-street, with a view of considering the projected bill of Mr. Brougham, on the subject of education. Several ministers had expressed their sentiments, and among the rest, Dr. Lindsay. A friendly conversation having been finished, the secretary, the Rev. Dr. Morgan, was proceeding to read to the meeting a series of resolutions, when the attention of the company was arrested by an appearance of severe indisposition in Dr. Lindsay: he fell insensible into the arms of those around him. Medical aid was instantly called in; but it was too late, the spirit had fled to God who gave it. The whole company was too much affected by this awful stroke to proceed with business. The Rev. Dr. Waugh, attended by a large company of ministers, offered an appropriate prayer. The ministers departed deeply impressed with this powerful admonition on the uncertainty of life, and the necessity of being always ready for the stroke of death.

Dr. Lindsay was a native of Scotland, and was educated at Aberdeen. He succeeded the celebrated Dr. James Fordyce, about the year 1782, as pastor of the congregation at Monkwell-street; in which chapel he preached a sermon on the occasion of Dr. Fordyce's death, in 1796, which was printed. He also published "A Sermon on the Influence of Religious Knowledge, as tending to produce a gradual Improvement in the social State, preached at Monkwell-street," 8vo. 1813; and "A Sermon at Salter's Hall Meeting House, on the Death of the Rev. Hugh Worthington," 8vo. 1813. An elegant and most impressive funeral sermon was preached, on occasion of Dr. Lindsay's death, the 25th inst. by Dr. Rees, at Monkwell-street Chapel.

LIVERPOOL, Countess of, June 12, at Fife House, in Whitehall, Theodosia Louisa, Countess of Liverpool. She was the daughter of Frederick late Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry, and sister of the present Earl of Bristol; and was married to the Earl of Liverpool, March 25, 1795, but had no issue. The melancholy event had been long expected, her ladyship having been seriously ill for many months; but we believe it

was only within the last few weeks that the noble earl, whose attachment for the countess was of the most affectionate kind, despaired of her recovery.

Her ladyship was a female of excellent endowments; her natural talents had been improved by education, by reading, and reflection; she had a clear and comprehensive mind; a sound and discriminating judgment. Her religion was without any bigotry; her humanity without the least ostentation; it was not of that passive kind which gives only when it is asked; it sought out and selected its objects with diligence and care; it relieved them with a secrecy and a delicacy which almost doubled the blessings it conferred. Many persons will only now, for the first time, know the source from whence they were relieved.

On the 19th the remains of this deeply lamented lady were removed from Whitehall for interment in the family vault at Hawkesbury, in Gloucestershire, in the following order:—Six horsemen, two and two; the plume of feathers; the hearse, drawn by six horses, the pall of which bore the armorial escutcheons; three mourning coaches and six, followed by upwards of seventy noblemen and gentlemen's carriages; amongst which were those of the Dukes of York, Clarence, Devonshire, and Wellington, Marquess of Hertford, Earls of Bridgewater, Harcourt, Spencer, Verulam, &c.

LONDONDERRY, Robert, Marquess of, April 8, at Castle Stewart, in the county of Down, in his 83d year. He was born Sept. 27, 1739, returned to parliament for the county of Down 1780; sworn of the privy council, and appointed a trustee of the linen board during the administration of the Marquess of Lansdowne; advanced to the dignity of Baron of Londonderry in 1789; of Viscount Castlereagh in 1795; of Earl of Londonderry in 1796; and of Marquess of Londonderry in 1815. His lordship was twice married; first, to Lady Frances Seymour Conway, daughter of the late Marquess of Hertford, (and sister to the present,) by whom he had issue, 1st, Alexander-Francis, was born in 1767, and died young; 2d, Robert Viscount Castlereagh (now Marquess of Londonderry). His lordship was secondly married to Lady Frances Pratt, daughter of the late Earl Camden, Lord Chancellor of England, and sister to the present Marquess Camden, by whom he had



issue Charles-William, a lieutenant-general, now Lord Stewart, ambassador to the court of Vienna; 2d, Alexander-John, who was an officer in the navy, and fought at the battle of St. Vincent, since dead; 3d, Thomas-Henry, who served in the army under the illustrious Duke of Wellington, and died in Portugal; 4th, Frances-Ann, married to Lord C. Fitzroy, son to the late Duke of Grafton, also dead; 5th, Elizabeth, who died unmarried; 6th, Caroline, wife of Colonel Wood, son to Thomas Wood, Esq. of Lyttleton, and M. P. for the county of Brecon; 7th, Georgiana, married to Geo. Canning, Esq., now Lord Garvagh, also dead; 8th, Selina, married to David Ker, Esq. of the county of Down, and M. P. for Athlone; 9th, Matilda, married to Edward Ward, eldest son of the Right Hon. Robert Ward, of Bangor; 10th, Emily, married to the late John James, Esq. son of Sir Walter James James, Bart. of Langley Hall, in Berkshire, secretary of embassy at the court of the King of the Netherlands; and 11th, Octavia, married to the present Lord Ellenborough, also dead.

In 1801, his lordship was appointed governor and custos rotulorum of the county of Down, and of the county of Londonderry in 1803. He is succeeded in his title, and the principal part of his extensive estates in the counties of Down, Derry, and Donegal, by Robert Viscount Castlereagh, now Marquess of Londonderry, His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. By his death there is a vacancy in the representation of the county of Down, in the room of Lord Castlereagh, and also for a representative peer in the Imperial Parliament. His lordship was in the 83d year of his age.

The family of the marquess, which was originally Scotch, (being a branch of the Lenox family,) settled in Ireland in the reign of James the First, who granted to his kinsman, ——— Stewart, Duke of Lenox, and his relations, that large tract of land in the county of Donegal, lying between Lough Foyle and Lough Swilly, (forfeited during his reign, and that of Queen Elizabeth,) which he erected into eight manors, two of which he granted to the Duke of Lenox, and one, by the name of the manor of Stewart's Court, otherwise Ballylawn, together with the territories and precincts of Ballyveagh, to John Stewart, Esq., and his heirs, for ever; which manor, together with the whole of the lands annexed to it, descended in regular lineal succe-

sion to the late marquess. On his manor the said John Stewart erected the castle of Ballylawn, and settled it with Protestant inhabitants, whereby he became entitled to hold a court baron, together with other ample privileges. The great-grandson of the late John Stewart, and grandfather of the late marquess, Colonel William Stewart, of Ballylawn Castle, raised a troop of horse at his own expense, during the siege of the city of Londonderry by King James Second, and was of essential service to the Protestants, by protecting those who were well affected to King William, and checking the depredations of King James's army, whose supplies he completely cut off on that side, and considerably cramped the operations of the siege; and we accordingly find, that in the parliament held in Dublin by King James, he was expressly attainted by name, and his estates declared forfeited; which estates, however, descended unimpaired to his son, Alexander Stewart (father of the late marquess). Alexander Stewart, son of the above William Stewart, (and a daughter of William Stewart, of Fort Stewart, Esq.) was born in 1700, and succeeded to his father's estate of Ballylawn. He served in parliament as representative for the city of Londonderry; and in 1737 married his cousin, Mary Cowan, sister and heiress of Sir Robert Cowan, governor of Bombay, and afterwards transferred his residence to Mount Stewart, in the county of Down, where he had purchased the Colville (formerly the Mount Alexander) estate. He died in 1781, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Robert, the late Marquess of Londonderry, the subject of this article.

## M.

M'LEOD, John, M.D. author of the "Voyage of the Alceste," some account of, in a letter from a Trafalgarian to a friend.

"My dear G —, our late friend, Dr. M'Leod, evinced the same ardour of feeling and disposition in youth which marked his subsequent character."

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\* "Dr. M'Leod was born in the parish of Bunhill, in Dunbartonshire; his father was a calico-printer in the same place; his grandfather, by his mother's side, was a Stuart, and fell at the battle of Culloden, with two of his brothers, fighting in the cause of the ill-fated Prince Charles.

He was placed under the tuition of his friend, Dr. Wood, of Perth, when almost a child, being only ten years old. Soon after his being put there, it happened that the price of meal had greatly risen, and a merchant of the town, wishing to take the benefit of the markets when advantageous, was loading a vessel at Perth with that article. The inhabitants of the town became apprehensive that if their meal should be taken away, the same want would afflict them which oppressed their neighbours; and therefore resolved that none should leave the place. For this patriotic, but lawless, purpose, they assailed the merchant's house, and demolished his store. The riot increased to such a degree as to oblige the magistrates to call on the military for assistance. Their attention being directed to the harbour, where the unfortunate vessel lay, among others who were drawn thither by the occurrence, was Dr. Wood, when, to his astonishment he saw his young pupil, M'Leod, there, the foremost of the rioters, on the top of the mast, cutting away the rigging, and cheering up a companion of his, (also a pupil of Dr. Wood's,) with, 'Cut the cables, Dan Stuart; cut the cables, Dan, and then she cannot go.' The doctor, however, soon allayed the ardour of his young patriots, by the denunciation of a good whipping.

"In the year 1798, government having held out great inducements for medical men to enter the naval service, Mr. M'Leod embarked on board a ship bearing Lord Gardner's flag, as surgeon's mate. He was subject for a short time to the tricks played off on all *green-horns* who first enter into that classical place, the cock-pit, from which have emerged so many thousand brave and learned men, Hawkes, Howes, St. Vincents, and Nelsons, Smollets, Trotters, and Blanes; and from which we hope many more will yet arise. He did not, however, long remain the passive subject of their mirth, but soon became a chief actor in all their rude hilarity: on one occasion, they having exceeded the bounds of propriety, it became necessary to punish severely the inhabitants of the midship birth, of whom he was one; it was therefore, entirely pulled down. To satirize this severe punishment, Mr. M'Leod wrote over the ruins, 'Additional encouragement for surgeons' mates.' Fortunately for him, this sarcasm did not reach the ears of the captain, or it might have been attended with something still more unpleasant.

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"In 1801 he was made a surgeon, and soon after was reduced in consequence of the peace.

"The younger surgeons of the navy having at that time no half-pay, and M'Leod being too high-minded to depend on any one but himself, he went into the African trade. This voyage he has related with great vivacity.\* On his arrival afterwards in the West Indies, the war having re-commenced, he was appointed by the commander-in-chief at Jamaica, surgeon of the Pickle schooner. On one of her cruizes, she was attacked by a superior force; it became necessary for every one to exert himself, and although it was his particular place to be out of the combat, he chose to be in it. The commander put into his hands the only musket which was fired during the action. They beat off the enemy, and soon afterwards heard that the only loss had been from musketry: a proof of his skill, as well as cool intrepidity.

"He served in the *Volontaire*, in the Mediterranean, in 1808 and 1809; and whenever her boats were sent on any fighting duty, he generally contrived to be of the party, under pretence of being ready to afford surgical aid, but really for the delight he had in naval enterprise; for had any been called on, it would have been more particularly the assistant-surgeon.

"A convoy from Toulon, for the relief of Gerona in Spain, was escorted by a large naval force, but was intercepted, and afterwards destroyed. He was then surgeon of the *Tigre*, one of the ships detached for the purpose. All on board being strangers to the coast near Cette, in Languedoc, he piloted the ship close in to the place from a drawing which he had made in the *Volontaire*, when that ship was meditating an attack on it.

"I must now however observe, that he was no less attentive to his medical duty, than partial to naval enterprize. Although exceedingly gay, and fond of being on shore, yet when his duty called him on board, no one was more indefatigable. It happened that the *Volontaire*, when at Malaga, had several men dangerously ill of the bilious fever. The principal Spanish nobility and gentry, in their delirium of joy at their recent escape from French domination, were endeavouring to show all the civility in their power to the officers of the English frigate, and the latter were enjoying it: yet nothing

\* See Literary Gazette, No. 181.



would induce M'Leod to leave his patients, although he might with much propriety have occasionally trusted to his assistant for a short time.

"His African voyage shews his happy disposition: and in some of the scenes which he describes in his '*Narrative of the Alceste's Voyage*,' he was a principal actor; particularly in buoying up the spirits of his shipwrecked companions on the island of Palo-Leet with the hopes of succour, and encouraging them to second the efforts of their brave commander to resist the attacks of their fiend-like foes, the Malays. He was equally active in extinguishing the fire which broke out in the *Cæsar*, on their passage home, and threatened them with destruction after all their perils. We have lately had a truly appalling and pitiable proof of their danger, in the destruction of the *Abeona* transport, under very similar circumstances: for the fire broke out in both vessels in the same place, and was in each equally rapid in its progress; but there being more presence of mind and vigour in the former case than in the latter, they were saved. A delay of five minutes more would have destroyed the *Cæsar*.

"The voyage of the *Alceste*, so pleasing from the liveliness of its descriptions, is well known to most readers. A little while after its publication, M'Leod had the honor of doctor of physic conferred on him by the University of St. Andrews. He was about this time appointed surgeon to the Royal Sovereign yacht. The royal passengers were much delighted with him.

"Always ardent in his friendships, he proved, both by pen and personal exertions, a most active and successful partisan of Sir Murray Maxwell, when that gallant officer stood candidate for Westminster. In the disgraceful outrages which took place during that celebrated contest, he received a serious injury in his lungs from a bruise. It produced a spitting of blood, and he seems never to have been thoroughly well afterwards.

"He retained his vivacity to the last, though labouring under two depressive diseases, dysentery and ulceration in the lungs. '*Getting very thin*,' as he expressed it, he took lodgings in a small house at Chelsea, to be near the kind attentions of Mrs. Hoppner. "Well," said he to a friend, who called on him, "if I am really to go, I trust I shall not need to be ashamed to show my face in the other world." He expressed to me a wish to have a Bible, and the mis-

tress of the house brought him a family one. She had shown him much attention; and, after his decease, on opening her Bible, she found a five-pound note folded in a leaf, which contained the 5th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. There was the mark of a large cross, apparently made with a finger-nail, against the 10th verse. He does not seem to have had a conviction that the disease would terminate fatally till about the last hour. In the middle of the night the nurse heard him say, "Stop, stop till I get my hat, and I'll come." About seven he said to her, "I am really going now. Run for S——." I set out instantly, but ere I reached his lodgings, he was gone aloft.

"He died on Thursday, the 9th of November 1820. He was only 38 years of age. We buried him at Chelsea; and in his funeral we adopted that simple unostentatious mode of which he was so characteristically fond in all things during life. Sir Murray Maxwell, Mr. Murray, Dr. Hutchinson, Mr. Gray, and two officers of the yacht bore the pall.

"Dr. M'Leod had a very quick perception and strong memory, and retained a most accurate idea of what he had seen. He formed his opinions almost intuitively: yet he must be considered rather a sciolist than a profound man. Had he been less quick, in all probability he would have been more scientific. His practice as a surgeon partook of his character. It was bold and prompt; and he was very successful. His humanity was most conspicuous, and he uniformly attended his patients with the greatest solicitude.

"You will perceive, I have endeavoured to put a few anecdotes of our late friend; but as I was not with him in the more active scenes of life, my account is very imperfect. I am, with the greatest esteem, your devoted friend,

J. S.

MORGAN, Rev. Thomas, LL.D., at Dr. Williams' library, Redcross-street. A notice of this gentleman in our next volume.

MURRAY, Charles, Esq. Nov. 8. At Edinburgh, Mr. Murray, for many years an actor on the Covent Garden boards. He was the son of Sir John Murray, Bart. of Broughton, secretary to the Pretender, in the rebellion of 1745, who, after the final ruin of the cause, retired to Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, where, in the year 1754, the late Mr. Murray was born. Under the immediate guardianship of his father, he



received a classical education, and was at a proper season sent into France, to perfect himself in the language of that country. Being designed for the medical profession, he was, on his return from the Continent, placed with a practitioner of eminence, and entered into the sea-service, as a surgeon, in which capacity he made several voyages. Being tired of his calling, he entered into an engagement with Mr. Tate Wilkinson, and made his first appearance on the stage at York, in 1775, in the character of Carlos, in the *Fop's Fortune*. Thence he went to Norwich, and afterwards to Bath. He subsequently entered into an engagement at Covent Garden Theatre, where he appeared in 1797.

Mr. Murray has left four children. His daughter, (Mrs. Henry Siddons) is the present proprietor of the Edinburgh theatre, where her brother, Mr. William Murray, is the acting-manager.

## N.

NALDI, Signor, Dec. 15, 1820. the celebrated performer, his death was occasioned by the bursting of a new-invented self-acting cooking apparatus.

NEIL, Mr. James. At Irvine, aged 102. Dec. 1820. He had served in the navy 65 years, many of these under Boscawen and Hawke; his faculties were unimpaired to the last.

NICHOL, Dr., Feb. 9, 1820. minister of the Scots Church, Swallow-street, where he had officiated upwards of 25 years. A notice of this amiable and intelligent gentleman will appear in our next volume.

## P.

PARNELL, William, Esq. M. P. At Castle Howard, Ireland, April 2, 1820. Mr. Parnell was distinguished in private society for the amiableness of his manners, and for the suavity and intelligence of his conversation. He deservedly ranked high in letters and in politics for his general acquirements, but more especially for his writings, "*The Causes of Popular Discontents in Ireland*," and "*The Apology for the Catholics*;" works which have been greatly esteemed by the highest authorities for their elegance of style, the statesman-like principles which they enforce, and the pure patriotism of the author. Had Mr.

Parnell lived, the attention which he was in the habit of giving in parliament to Irish affairs would have been productive, ere long, of lasting benefit to his country. Time only was wanting to enable him to give effect to those plans, which had been his constant study from his earliest years, for relieving Ireland from her grievances, and for ameliorating the condition of all classes of her people, in wealth, in manners, and in morals. The following lines are from the Poems of the late Mrs. Henry Tighe:

To W. P. Esq., Avondale.

"We wish for thee, dear friend! for  
Summer eve

Upon thy loveliest landscape never cast  
Looks of more lingering sweetness than  
the last;

'The slanting sun, reluctant to bereave  
'Thy woods of beauty, fondly seemed to  
leave

Smiles of the softest light, that slowly  
In bright succession o'er each charm  
thou hast

Thyself so oft admired. And we might  
Thine eye of taste should ever wander  
hence,

O'er scenes less lovely than thine own;  
but here

Thou wilt return, and feel thy home  
More dear the Muses' gentler influence;  
When on the busy world, with Wisdom's  
smile,

And heart uninjured, thou hast gazed

PAUL, Sir G. O. Bart. At Hill House, Rodborough, Gloucestershire, Dec. 16, 1820. who succeeded his father Sir Onesiphorus, Sept. 21, 1771. This worthy Baronet was highly distinguished by his philanthropic exertions for the reform of prisons, and in other concerns of a patriotic nature. The active part he took in the regulation of the county gaol of Gloucester, rendered that prison an example worthy of being followed in all similar establishments. He was the author of the following publications:—*Considerations on the Defects of Prisons*, 8vo. 1784. *Proceedings of the Grand Juries, Magistrates, &c. of the county of Gloucester, for a General Reform of the Prisons in that County*, 8vo. 3d edit. 1808. *Doubts concerning the Expediency and Propriety of immediately proceeding to provide a Lunatic Asylum for the County of Gloucester*, 8vo. 1813. Sir G. O. Paul also contributed some communications to the *Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture*.

PERIGORD, Cardinal, Abp. of Paris, Oct. 20, 1820, in his 85th year. From

a declining state of health, his dissolution had for some time been expected. On the Thursday preceding, Monsieur and the Duke d'Angoulême had an interview with him, which was extremely affecting, and at five o'clock on Sunday morning, the venerable prelate breathed his last. He died without a struggle. He was prepared for this event by an holy resignation to the Divine Will, and he was strengthened in the last extremity by all the supports of religion.

Cardinal Perigord was born at Paris in the year 1736, and was christened Alexander Augustus Talleyrand Perigord. Descended from one of the most illustrious families in France, he was, after an education quite worthy of his rank and of the profession which he intended to embrace, soon promoted to a bishopric, and raised to the dignity of Archbishop of Rheims, which entitled him to anoint the princes of his country. He was adorned by virtues that reflected honour on the clergy, whom he dignified by his devotion, and also by the exercise of those eminent qualities which distinguished an ecclesiastical prince.

The *Drapeau Blanc*, of Oct. 21, says, "Faithful to his principles, to the interests of the state, and to the reverence due to the monarch, he, alike in 1787 (during the assemblage of the Nobles), and in 1789 (during the meeting of the States General), repelled with firmness those pernicious innovations which have since occasioned so much blood, and caused so many tears to France! When he perceived that every thing was indeed lost, that rebellion had supplanted and overturned the throne itself, he retired, in its commencement, from the theatre of such discord and crimes, and took refuge, in the first instance, in Germany. From thence he repaired to England, the only spot where, at the height of their calamities, the Royal House of Bourbon could find an asylum. Here the Archbishop of Rheims participated in the long exile of that illustrious house; and when Divine Providence, in kindness to the wishes of its servants, was pleased to restore the descendants of St. Louis to the throne of their august ancestors, he accompanied them. But the ancient see of Rheims was no longer to be found; that see, honoured by the virtues of St. Remy, had been suppressed by an authority that trembled at every thing calculated to revive the recollection of legitimate monarchy. It was thus that the King, regarding his high quali-

ties, now appointed him Grand Almoner; the Sovereign Pontiff then decorated him with the Roman purple; and Paris congratulated herself on her spiritual head. Notwithstanding his advanced age, he discharged with an apostolic zeal the numerous duties which his exalted situation had imposed. His time was devoted to beneficence, even to the moment when, seized by sickness, he was taken from this terrestrial state. His decease is matter of deep regret to all friends of religion and virtue. The clergy, his family, and the faithful of his diocesan flock, weep for him; while the poor, inconsolable at their loss, demand a new father."

The funeral of Cardinal Perigord took place in Paris on Saturday in the cathedral at Notre Dame, with all the pomp the solemnity of the occasion would admit. A battalion of the garrison fired a volley on the taking up the body, on its entrance into the cathedral, and on its being placed in the vault. His Eminence, it is said, has bequeathed almost the whole of his fortune to religious establishments, and to the poor of the diocese of Rheims and Paris. To his domestics he has left legacies proportionate to the extent of their services.

By the death of the Archbishop of Paris, Louis XVIII. has a mitre, and his Holiness a Cardinal's hat, to dispose of. A great proportion of the members of the Sacred College are of very advanced ages. His Holiness is upwards of 79; the Cardinal Archbishop of Pirra 85; the Cardinal Archbishop of Sienna 81; the Cardinal Archbishop of Parma 81; the Cardinal Archbishop of Langress 83; and several others are about 80. The youngest is the Cardinal Rodolph, John Joseph Reinier, Archduke of Austria, who, most likely, will wear the triple crown long before he reaches the age of the present Pope.

## R.

RIGBY, Edward, Esq. M. D. Oct. 27, 1821. At his house in St. Giles's, Norwich, in his 74th year.

A long life of exertion, which had scarcely been chequered either by disease or accident, was closed by an indisposition of eight days, during which the public feeling in Norwich was most painfully excited, and the utmost anxiety hourly betrayed about every change of symptoms that affected the continuance



of so valuable a man. Since 1762 he had spent his time in that city, first in learning, and afterwards in practising his profession. By assiduity, and the exercise of his rare abilities, he raised himself to the highest reputation, first as an accoucheur, and subsequently as a physician, and no man out of the metropolis ever held the confidence of a larger district of country.

Dr. Rigby was elected alderman of the Great Northern Ward in Norwich in 1802; served the office of sheriff in 1803, and that of mayor in 1805. He was a Fellow of the Linnean and Horticultural Societies, and Honorary Member of the Philadelphia Society for promoting Agriculture; President of the Philosophical Society of Norwich, a Director of the Norwich Union Fire Insurance Society, and was attached to many other institutions, both foreign and domestic. — In Vol. LXXVI. pp. 19—23, of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, is a proof of his attention to the workhouse in Norwich, in a letter to John Gurney, of Earham, Esq. in answer to one by Mr. Gurney (LXXV. 1124), in which Mr. G. commented with severity on the report of it by that eminent philanthropist, James Neild, Esq.

In Aug. 1815, the wife of the Doctor presented him with three sons and a daughter. Before the birth of these little ones, Dr. Rigby was the father of eight children, the two eldest of whom are twins. Remarkable as was the above event, there were circumstances which rendered it peculiarly so. Dr. Rigby was a great-grand-father; and probably never before were born, at one birth, three great-uncles and one great-aunt—such being the relationship between the above-mentioned parties and the infant son of Mr. John Bowtree, jun. of Colchester. The Corporation of Norwich voted a piece of plate, of 25 guineas value, to Dr. Rigby and his Lady, as a memento of the memorable birth of their four children: the event to be recorded in the city books, and the names of the children to be inscribed on the plate. None of these children lived quite 12 weeks.

Besides some papers in the *Medical Journals*, Dr. Rigby published, “*On the Uterine Hemorrhage*,” 1775, 8vo.; which has since gone through six editions.—“*On the Use of the Red Peruvian Bark in the Cure of Intermittents*,” 1783, 8vo.—“*On the Theory of Animal Heat*,” 1785, 8vo.—“*Chemical Observations on Sugar*,” 1788, 8vo.—“*Reports of the*

*Norwich Committee on the Workhouses*,” 1788, 8vo.—“*Farther Facts relative to the Care of the Poor and the Management of the Workhouse in the City of Norwich*,” 1812, 8vo.

Among his multifarious employments, agriculture had long been a favourite subject of his regard. He had for years become the cultivator of his own estate at Framlingham, near Norwich, where he had planted extensively. In 1818, he published “*Suggestions for an improved and extended cultivation of Mangel Wurzel*.” He has since printed an account of Mr. Coke's services to the agricultural world, under the title of “*Holkham and its Agriculture*,” which has had uncommon success, having gone through three large editions in about as many years, although re-printed entire in “*The Pamphleteer*.” This work has been translated and printed in France, by a French agriculturist. He has since translated and published the *Travels of Mr. Chateauevieux*, on account of the facts relating to the agriculture of Italy there narrated: and finally, has given the practical application of the Holkham system to smaller establishments, in his account of “*Framlingham and its Agriculture*.” Dr. Rigby was twice married.

ROUSSEAU, Samuel, a learned printer; Dec. 4. 1820, in Ray-street, Clerkenwell, aged 57. He served his apprenticeship in the printing-office of Mr. Nichols, the venerable editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, by whom he was occasionally employed in collecting epitaphs and other remains of antiquity. He was a singular instance of patient perseverance in the acquirement of the ancient languages. Whilst working as an apprentice and journeyman, he taught himself Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Persian, and Arabic. To these acquirements he added a knowledge of the French, and some of the modern tongues. He was, for a short time, master of Joy's charity-school, in Blackfriars.

A few years after the expiration of his apprenticeship, he commenced printing on his own account, in Leather-lane, Holborn, and afterwards removed to Wood street, Clerkenwell, where he carried on business for some time, but with little advantage to himself and family; having, from unforeseen circumstances and losses in trade, been obliged to relinquish his concern.

During the time he was a printer, he taught the Persian language; and com-



piled and published several Oriental Works:—1. "Flowers of Persian Literature," 1801, 4to. 2. "Dictionary of Mohammedan Law, Bengal Revenue Terms, Shanscrit, Hindoo, and other Words used in the East Indies," 1802, 12mo. 3. "Persian and English Vocabulary," 1802, 8vo. 4. "Richardson's Specimen of Persian Poetry; or, Odes of Hafiz; with an English Translation and Paraphrase, 1804, 4to. 5. "Balfour's Forms of Herkern, corrected from a variety of Manuscripts, translated into English; with an Index of Arabic words explained, and arranged under their proper Roots," 1804, 8vo. 6. "The Book of Knowledge; or, A Grammar of the Persian Language," 1805, 4to. Also, a Persian Copy Book, containing a great Variety of Copies, in imitation of the Nustaleek hand.

Since he relinquished the printing business, he edited a variety of works for the booksellers; but, as a creditable support for himself and his family was his aim, and not literary reputation, most of his works have appeared under fictitious names:— "An Essay on Punctuation," 1815, 12mo. "Annals of Health and Long Life," 1818. "Principles of Punctuation; or, The Art of Pointing familiarized," 1818. "Principles of Elocution," 1819. And many others, as Dictionaries, Biography, Geography, &c. &c. They have, however, generally proved successful to the publishers; as their objects were useful; and nothing ever appeared in them contrary to good morals, or the established religion and government.

About three years ago he was seized with a paralytic stroke, which continued to increase, and, joined to a cancerous affection in his face, rendered him incapable of holding a pen, or indeed of feeding himself. In this accumulated distress, with two daughters wholly dependent on him for support, a gleam of comfort was afforded him in the last moments of his existence, by a liberal benefaction from that excellent institution, "The Literary Fund;" which also enabled his daughters to consign his remains to a decent grave in the churchyard of St. James's, Clerkenwell.

RUNNINGTON, Mr. Serjeant, at Brighton, Jan. 18, 1821. He was of a respectable family in Hertfordshire, and was born on the 29th Aug. 1751. His education was liberal, but derived from private tuition. In 1768 he was placed under Mr. Morgan, a special pleader of considerable repute, with whom he con-

tinued about five or six years. Mr. Morgan was then concerned in publishing a Digest of the Law of England, in which Mr. Runnington, young as he then was, took a very laborious part; but by this laid the foundation of his future knowledge and practice in the laws of his country.

About 1774 he took chambers in the Temple, and commenced drawing under the Bar, as a special pleader. He soon acquired celebrity in the profession; and among those who were placed with him as pupils, may be named Sir Samuel Shepherd, the late Mr. Mingay, Mr. Tidd, Mr. Jordan, the agent for Barbadoes, and Mr. Adair, the late minister at Constantinople. Sir Samuel Shepherd was placed with him in 1775, or 1776; and in 1777 he married the youngest sister of that gentleman, Miss Anna Maria Shepherd, a lady of great beauty and accomplishments, by whom he had two children, a son and a daughter. Of the former, a youth of great promise, he was bereaved in 1810. In Hilary Term, 1778, he was called to the bar by the society of the Inner Temple; and in Michaelmas Term, 1787, was called to the degree of serjeant-at-law.

The motto on his ring was— "*Paribus se legibus.*" Soon after his call to the bar he was appointed deputy judge of the Marshalsea Court, where he manifested those talents for judication which have since been more extensively displayed.

He took a very active part in the politics of 1784, on the side of the old Whigs; when he advised, and ultimately succeeded in the action brought by Mr. Fox against the high bailiff of Westminster, for his conduct in granting and continuing the scrutiny on the election for that city in the same year; the whole responsibility of that action rested upon Mr. Runnington, and his conduct on that occasion recommended him so strongly to the notice of Mr. Fox, that the latter became extremely anxious for his promotion; and had that great statesman lived but a short time longer, he would no doubt have effected it.

Just before the death of Mr. Fox, and while he was in power, it was arranged by the then Chancellor, Lord Erskine, that the Serjeant should be made a master in chancery; but the administration going out soon after that arrangement was concluded, of course nothing was done for him. It was understood that Mr. Fox was adverse to it, as he wished

the Serjeant to be placed in a very different situation in his profession. Very soon after his being called to the rank of Serjeant, he was frequently applied to, to officiate as judge on the home circuit, for the late Mr. Justice Gould, Mr. Justice Buller, Mr. Baron Hotham, Mr. Justice Heath, the late Lord Chief Baron Macdonald, and Lord Kenyon; the duties of which substitution he discharged to the satisfaction of the suitors, the profession, and the public. But this official aid was so repeatedly solicited, that he was at length (greatly to his professional loss) compelled to retire from the circuit, which he did about twelve years ago.

In 1782 his first lady died, and in 1783 he married Mrs. Wetherell, the widow of Charles Wetherell, Esq. of Jamaica. In Hilary Term, 1791, he argued the great case in the Court of King's Bench, of the Corporation of Lynn against the City of London, in error, and succeeded in reversing the judgment of the Court of Common Pleas. He was counsel, together with Sir Samuel Shepherd, the late Mr. Clifford, and other gentlemen, in the actions which Sir Francis Burdett brought against the Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. Colman, and Earl Moira; upon the judgment of the first cause, a writ of error was brought in the Exchequer chamber, which was argued in Easter Term, 1812, by Mr. Clifford on the part of Sir Francis Burdett, in the most luminous and impressive manner. The substance of that argument was said to have been communicated by Mr. Serjeant Runnington to Mr. Clifford.

In 1813 Mr. Pooley resigned the office of Recorder of Colchester, upon which the corporation solicited the Serjeant to accept that office; this, we understood, he agreed to do, thinking that the appointment was in the select body of the corporation only; but being in the free burgesses at large, he was opposed by Mr. Harvey, and after a hard contest of several days, was, on the 17th July 1813, chosen by a considerable majority; but as the mayor who swore him into that office was not mayor *de jure*, an information in nature of *quo warranto* was afterwards filed against the Serjeant; in consequence of which he was obliged to disclaim the office.

The residence of the Serjeant was principally at Brighton, where, since 1812, he took a most active part as a magistrate for the county of Sussex. His firm, prompt, and impartial manner of

administering the duties of that office, added to his great temper, knowledge, and humanity, was certainly of the highest benefit and importance to that place; and was more than once acknowledged in the most liberal manner by His present Majesty.

On the 19th of April 1815, on the death of the late Mr. Serjeant Palmer, Mr. Runnington was appointed His Majesty's commissioner for the relief of insolvent debtors in England, which he resigned in 1819.

Serjeant Runnington published "Sir Matthew Hale's History of the Common Law," 8vo. 1779; a new edition with considerable additions, 2 vols. 8vo. 1794. "Gilbert's Law of Ejectments," 8vo. 1781. "Ruffhead's Statutes at Large, from Magna Charta to the 25 Geo. III." 14 vols. 4to. 1787. "The History, Principles, and Practice of the legal Remedy by Ejectment, and the Resulting Action for Mesne Process," 8vo. 1795.

#### S.

SALMON, Robert. The useful arts, as depending for their improvement on experimental investigations, and ingenious applications of scientific principles, have rarely sustained a greater loss than in the subject of this Memoir. Mr. Salmon was born at Stratford-upon-Avon, in Warwickshire, in 1763, and was the youngest son of the six or seven children of Mr. William Salmon, a carpenter and builder. After a very slender education, Robert S. was placed out, at a very early age, with Mr. Grey, an attorney, residing near Leicester-fields; where, becoming a favourite of his master, leisure, and the means were afforded him, of supplying, by industrious application to books, the previous deficiencies of his education.

One of his earliest attempts to gain other information, was that of taking his watch to pieces, laying every particle separate, and putting them together again. Music next attracted his attention. He procured books to learn notes—first made a fife—then a flute—and lastly a violin, on each of which he played above mediocrity.

A few years afterwards, his father being appointed, by the late Mr. Henry Holland, the architect, to the superintendence of a large house which he had to build in Hampshire, the subject of this memoir was taken with him; and, during the progress of this job, was



carefully instructed, first in the practical operations of the carpenter's shop, then, successively, in drawing, measuring, keeping building accounts, and the several other requisites for a *clerk of the works* under an architect: in which studies, Mr. R. Salmon's progress and proficiency was such, that soon after the death of his father, which happened nearly about the time of completing the work under his care, Mr. Holland appointed Mr. Salmon as one of his clerks of the works, in the rebuilding of Carlton House, on which he was then engaged.

A few years afterwards, when Mr. Holland had begun on the great improvements at Woburn Abbey, Mr. Salmon was, about the year 1790, removed thither, as his clerk of the works; in which situation, the discerning eyes of the great Duke of Bedford soon became fixed on Mr. S. as an able and vigilant servant, in whose skill and application he could place confidence, for maturing and carrying into effect those magnificent schemes of improvement which had originated in his own noble mind, and from whose correct taste much of their details had been supplied in outline.

When the chief works under Mr. Holland were drawing to a close, his Grace made with him an arrangement, by which Mr. Salmon was, about the year 1794, taken into the permanent establishment of his Grace at Woburn, as his resident *architect* and *mechanist*: in which latter capacity, Mr. Salmon had then already distinguished himself, by contriving and introducing several highly ingenious applications of mechanical knowledge, in the works and business under his care.

About this time, Mr. Holland had brought over a workman from France, to introduce at Woburn the practice of *pisé* building, of whose uncouth apparatus and imperfect proceedings, Mr. H. published an account. To a man of Mr. Salmon's penetration and ingenuity, the sight of this man's proceedings, in constructing of compressed earth found on the spot, a small temporary lodge, by way of experiment, was sufficient to enable him to contrive other and more efficient apparatus and means for providing an effective substitute for good stone, in situations where this is wanting, as at Woburn. Of this apparatus and process, Mr. Salmon presented an account to the Society of Arts, who published the same in their 27th volume,

and Mr. Salmon received from his Grace directions to design and construct for himself a house and offices, near to the Park Farm, which he accordingly erected, and lived and lately died in the same, entirely composed of *pisé*, and without any outside stucco, besides some hot line whitening, brushed over the surface of the newly constructed walls, and well rubbed into the surface of the same, by means of a flat piece of wood.

His Grace, having by this time abandoned the pursuits of the turf and the chase, and bent almost his whole attention to rural and political improvements, became struck with the imperfect system pointed out to him by his land steward, then lately engaged, on which the repairs of the farm houses and buildings of his extensive estate had hitherto been conducted: where, as elsewhere, had long been and yet is common, the steward, practically unacquainted with building details, was in the habit, at his half-yearly visits to the distant farms, to give permission for certain repairs or improvements necessary to be done at the landlord's expence; which were quickly after set about, by the kind of hereditary carpenter, bricklayer, blacksmith, glazier, thatcher, &c. resident on the estate, each acting without due concert or controul, and intent only, in too many instances, on swelling out their bills; by which, great waste of money and materials, and unsubstantial and inconvenient reparation or erections very commonly resulted, the defects in, or the overcharges on, which works, it was impossible for the land-steward fully to detect or to remedy.

Instead of continuing this plan, Mr. Salmon received directions, on all his Grace's Bedfordshire estates, to prepare, under the steward's directions, plans and estimates of all works necessary to be done at each farm, taken in succession, as circumstances might require, and submit them to him for approbation; and that then, each job of such works should be let by measure or bargain; the execution to be superintended, and the bills for the same afterwards made up and signed by Mr. S.; and in this way ever afterwards, in the most cordial manner, the steward and Mr. Salmon continued to conduct this important department of his Grace's business, to his great satisfaction, until the day of his lamented death, on the 2d of March, 1802.

Why, on the retirement of Mr. Farey, the steward alluded to, this system, so obviously beneficial, was not continued,



instead of the hereditary tradesmen again taking their own course, under his successor, is to the writer unknown; but it behoves him to say, that it could not be through want of confidence reposed in his departed friend, by the present Duke; who, on the contrary, continued Mr. S. in the direction of all the buildings; and mechanical matters of his mansion, park, and farms in hand, on an increased salary, and placed under his direction all his extensive plantations and woods, which the late steward had managed, and the carrying on of the judicious system of *pruning* and *thinning* the same, which, under the late Duke, had several years before been begun, on the advice of Mr. Pontey; the care of the roads, and some other parochial duties in Woburn and its adjacent villages, to which usually the steward had attended, were also entrusted to him. Besides which, the present Duke conferred on him the stewardship of his Chenies estate; with a view principally of carrying into effect the improvement which he had suggested to his Grace, whereby highly profitable *oak woods* may be raised and continued, in place of the almost worthless *beech* spires and groves, which on the Chiltern Hills spring up, as weeds, through neglect, and choke every other kind of tree.

Connected with this department of Mr. Salmon's useful labours, he paid a long continued attention to the sawing-up of timber and plantation trees, in order to ascertain and demonstrate, by a series of well-selected *specimens* of *knots* in such sawn trees, the evil effects of neglecting to prune, or of performing the same improperly, compared with the almost incalculable advantages (nationally considered) of the judicious and persevering *pruning of forest trees*; these specimens of knots, Mr. Salmon deposited in the collection of the Society of Arts, who have published engravings from them to illustrate Mr. S.'s Memoir.

Numerous experiments were made a few years ago by Mr. Salmon, towards ascertaining the best modes of seasoning timber, particularly young fir, so as to add to its durability; it is not publicly known what were his results.

For detecting depredators in gardens and other inclosed grounds, Mr. Salmon contrived a humane *man-trap*; calculated to secure and detain a trespasser, without serious injury to his limbs: these traps have had an extensive sale by different ironmongers.

Mr. Salmon, as an architect, made designs for, and executed several minor parts of the improvements of Woburn Abbey and its offices, when Mr. Holland retired therefrom; he designed, under the late Duke's direction, and built the Park Farm at Woburn, and all its machinery (Cartwright's engine excepted); the new Swan Inn at Bedford was his work; and many new and excellent farm and other houses and buildings on the estate, some of them of *pic*; besides which, Mr. S. was not uncommonly consulted, and gave designs to the neighbouring gentry, for the alteration or rebuilding of their mansions, or he was called in by them to value and arbitrate in disputed matters, relative to building or machinery.

In the taking down of Houghton House, near to Amptill, wherein the late and present Dukes were born, Mr. Salmon found concealed behind a very old wainscoting of one of the rooms, some very curious large paintings, on the plaster of the walls; these he felt a desire to preserve, and contrived, by first glueing a strong canvas on to their fronts, and then sawing off the plaster entire from the walls, and after cleaning off this plaster, to obtain the *painting* in a state, in which its back could be cemented by drying oils, on to a prepared canvas, as perfectly and as durable as if originally painted thereon: after which, water was used to detach the glue of the first canvas, and the second canvas being stretched and framed, exhibited these paintings perfectly transferred. The printed transactions of the Society of Arts preserves a full detail of these processes, and of others in which Mr. Salmon succeeded, in transferring paintings from old and worm-eaten boards, to new canvas.

Venetian *window blinds*, outside, which are so apt to receive injury from the wind, and at the same time yield a disagreeable noise, received great improvements in these respects from Mr. Salmon's ingenuity.

Mr. Salmon invented, and had a patent for, a *weighing machine*, which exhibits the weight by the hand of a dial like that of a clock, which has been introduced on several of the turnpike roads round London and elsewhere; and prevents the frauds of machine-keepers on the carters.

Being himself unfortunately afflicted with a bad hernia, Mr. Salmon, after trial of several of the trusses most in repute, contrived a very improved self-

adjusting truss, for which he took a patent (now expired), under which, in conjunction with Mr. Ody of the Strand, immense numbers have been sold, both here and in Paris, where they had an establishment for the manufacture and sale of these trusses, which the first surgeons are in the habit of recommending.

A *plunger lock*, for the saving of water on canals, was invented by Mr. Salmon, of great ingenuity; and a self-regulating horse-machine, for drawing water-buckets from a deep well, were both of them rewarded by the Society of Arts.

Agriculturists have been indebted to Mr. Salmon for a variety of useful inventions, viz.

His *chaff-cutter*, the knives of which, instead of being radial and curved, cutting with very different effect at the beginning and end of the stroke, are straight (as easily ground as a scythe), and pass always through the straw with the same angle and effective power; have come into extensive use.

Mr. Salmon greatly improved the *hay-making machine*, and had a patent for the same: he made very numerous experiments, and advanced, perhaps as near as any one since has done, towards the invention of an effective *reaping machine*.

He invented a lever *drill* for sowing corn and seeds, which is not liable to be turned out of its rectilinear course by any irregularity of the horse's motion, but is perfectly at the command of the holder of its levers or handles.

On the *plough* Mr. Salmon made a very extensive series of experiments, and proceeded some way in the MS. of a work intended to improve its construction, as to effectiveness and ease of draught.

On the excellent large *thrashing-mill*, at the Park Farm, constructed under his own directions, Mr. Salmon afterwards made numerous experiments, by an apparatus which he contrived, and has published, whereby he ascertained the quantum of power necessary for working part of the machinery, at different speeds, separate or in their different combinations, as feeding only, thrashing only, thrashing and throwing out the straw, performing these and winnowing the corn at the same time, &c. &c.

It would too much extend this article, barely to mention the various other experimental researches in which Mr. Sal-

mon was engaged, in the last five and twenty years of his active and useful life: suffice it to say, that at almost every one of the Woburn sheep-shearings, he produced some useful novelty or other, and frequently obtained the premiums offered by the late and present Dukes, for useful agricultural machines. The annual sessions of the Society of Arts, for several years, usually brought forth one or more of Mr. Salmon's inventions, for which he has been liberally rewarded with many pecuniary as well as honorary marks of their approbation, as the volumes of their transactions will continue to attest; and so will those of the Repository of Arts, furnish a record of the several inventions for which Mr. S. has taken patents: in Dr. Rees's Cyclopædia several of his inventions have been drawn and directed by Mr. Farey, jun.

Within two or three years past, Mr. Salmon, finding his health declining, had been desirous of relinquishing his duties at Woburn, to which his Grace at last reluctantly assented, and two or three months ago, his accounts having been nearly wound up, different parts of the various duties he had performed were turned over to three young men who had long been his assistants: and Mr. S. engaged a cottage for his future residence, at Vauxhall Walk, Lambeth, where he went to reside in the beginning of September last, and staid there a fortnight, when his concerns at Woburn requiring his attention, although much indisposed, he went thither, and was there taken ill, and after a confinement of two weeks, in the latter part of which he suffered much from inward complaint, perhaps connected with his brain, and died on Saturday, the 9th of October, deeply lamented by an only brother, and two nieces, who resided with him, and to whom he left the greater part of his property.

Mr. Salmon was buried on the 11th, in the same vault with his wife and child. His funeral was attended by upwards of 200 of the most respectable inhabitants of Woburn and its vicinity.

We understand that Mr. Westmacott is employed by his Grace the Duke of Bedford, to erect a monument in the parish church, as a testimony of his respect for the character of this worthy and ingenious individual.

For this memoir, with a trifling exception, we are indebted to the Monthly Magazine.



STEVENSON, William, Esq. seat Newton, near Norwich, upwards of thirty-five years proprietor of the Norfolk Chronicle; and editor of the last edition of Bentham's Elements, to which work he added a valuable supplement.

STRUTT, J. Douglas, Esq. *Aug.* 26. At Constantinople, J. Douglas Strutt, Esq. aged 27, only son of Joseph Strutt, Esq. This amiable young man left his native country, 14 months ago, on his travels for the gratification of his taste, and in pursuit of intellectual improvement. He traversed France, Switzerland, and Italy, visited Sicily and Malta, and from thence, such of the Greek Islands, as the lately troubled state of the times, and the prevalence of the plague rendered accessible. In the course of his interesting tour, he collected many excellent specimens of natural productions, and was successful in obtaining some valuable relics of classical antiquity. Several packages, containing beautiful works in sculpture and painting, had been already sent by him to England, and he is understood to have had in his possession, at the time of his lamented decease, other proofs of the delighted attention which he was paying to the study of the fine arts. He was at Naples immediately before, and at the time of the Austrians entering that city; and there, and subsequently at Messina, he narrowly escaped with life from the violence of an ungoverned soldiery. In his course from Malta to Corfu, the vessel in which he sailed was in imminent hazard of shipwreck from the violence of a storm. His ultimate project was to reach even Egypt, that land of early science and remote antiquity. But on his voyage from Smyrna to Constantinople, he was seized with a malignant fever incidental to the climate. He was considered dangerously ill on his landing at Constantinople, and was conveyed to the apartments which had been previously prepared for him at Pera, in the environs of that celebrated metropolis. But, notwithstanding the judicious and unceasing attentions of Dr. Mac Guffog, the physician to the British Embassy and Factory, and the skill of two other eminent physicians, aided by the anxious care of his personal friends and those of his family, he died, to the unspeakable grief of all around him, on the day stated above, and was interred on the following day with those demonstrations of respect, esteem, and regret, which his amiable

disposition and manners, and his untimely fate, so justly excited:

"By foreign hands his dying eyes were clos'd,  
By foreign hands his decent limbs compos'd,  
By foreign hands his peaceful grave adorn'd,  
By strangers honour'd, and by strangers mourn'd"

#### W.

WALKER, Adam, Esq. the celebrated Lecturer on Natural and Experimental Philosophy. February 11. 1821, at Richmond, aged 90.

Mr. Walker was born on the banks of Windermere, in the county of Westmorland. His father employed a few hands in the woollen manufacture: and having a large family, he took his son from school before the boy could read a chapter in the Bible. The mechanical turn of the youth was not however to be smothered by hard labour. He copied corn-mills, paper-mills, and fulling-mills, the models of which were constructed on a brook near his father's dwelling, to the surprise of passengers. He also borrowed books, and built a house for himself in a bush to read without interruption on Sundays. Thus he went on with such success, that a person, who discovered his extraordinary talents, offered him the ushership of Ledsham School, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Here he began his career of teaching when he was no more than fifteen years of age, and had frequently to study over night what he had to impart to his pupils the next morning. After continuing three years in that situation, he was chosen writing-master and accomptant to the free-school at Macclesfield, where he resided four years, and perfected himself in mathematics by his own application. At this place he embarked in trade, but failing in his business, he resolved to turn hermit in one of the islands on the lake of Windermere, from which romantic scheme he was diverted by the ridicule of his friends. His next enterprize was that of lecturing on astronomy at Manchester, where he met with a very favourable reception, which enabled him to establish an extensive seminary. This however he relinquished for the purpose of travelling as a lecturer in natural philosophy; and after passing through most



of the great towns in the three kingdoms, he visited Dr. Priestley, by whose recommendation he undertook to lecture in the Haymarket in 1778. The encouragement which he experienced in the metropolis induced him to take a house in George-street, Hanover-square, where he read lectures every winter to numerous audiences. He was also engaged by Dr. Barnard, provost of Eton College, to lecture in that seminary: which example was followed by Westminster, Winchester, and other great schools. Among the variety of inventions with which Mr. Walker has amused himself, may be mentioned various engines for raising water; three methods by which ships may be easily pumped at sea; carriages to go by wind and steam; the patent empyreal air-stove; the patent celestina harpsichord; the Eidouranion, or transparent orrery; the rotatory lights on the island of Scilly; a boat that works against the stream; another that clears the bottom of rivers by the stream or tide; a weather gauge which, united to a clock, shows the quantity of rain, the direction and strength of the wind, the height of the barometer, the heat and moisture of the air; an easy method of turning a river into a wet dock; a road-mill; a machine for watering land; a dibbling-plough, &c. &c. The literary performances of Mr. Walker are: "Analysis of Lectures on experimental Philosophy," 8vo.; "Philosophical Estimate of the Causes, Effects, and Cure of Unwholesome Air in Cities," 8vo.; "On the Causes and Cure of Smoky Chimnies," 8vo.; "Ideas suggested in an Excursion through Flanders, Germany, Italy, and France," 8vo. 1791; "Remarks made in a Tour to the Lakes of Westmoreland and Cumberland, in the Summer of 1791, to which is annexed a Sketch of the Police, Religion, Arts, and Agriculture of France, made in an excursion to Paris in 1785," 8vo. 1792; "A System of Familiar Philosophy, in Lectures," 4to. 1799; "A Treatise on Geography and the Use of the Globes," 12mo. Some interesting Memoirs of the Family of Hogarth were communicated by Mr. Walker to Mr. Nichols in 1782. He has also inserted many pieces in prose and verse in various Magazines; and some articles in the Philosophical Transactions, and Young's Annals of Agriculture.

**WOLFERSTAN**, Samuel Pipe, Esq. Of those whose names have been in a degree perpetuated by a brief tran-

script of their characters in these pages, few have left the world more uniformly respected, and more deeply regretted, than the subject of this short memorial. If we were, in a single word, to attempt a delineation of his principles and conduct through life, we should say that Mr. Wolferstan was, as far as a human being can claim the hallowed appellation—*Truth* itself. From truth, complete, strict, severe truth, he never deviated; and even in his favourite studies and amusements, the investigation of truth was his object.—He was born at Tamworth, February 5, 1750-1, and received the earliest part of his education from the Rev. Simon Collins of the free-school in that place, of whom he never spoke but in terms of veneration and respect. He was afterwards removed to Newington Green, to the school of Mr. James Burgh, author of "The Dignity of Human Nature," and other works; partly because his father was pleased with Mr. Burgh's writings, and partly because the sons of a neighbouring gentleman were sent there. On Mr. Burgh's endearing affection towards him, he always dwelt with peculiar pleasure: it was, no doubt, the reward of those pure morals, accompanied by a persevering fondness for study, which marked his character from its earliest years. Symptoms of consumption rendering parental care necessary, he was (after how long a residence at Newington Green is not known) brought home to Walton-upon-Trent, where his father, as rector, then resided. There the late celebrated Dr. Darwin attended him; and by his simple prescription of a milk and vegetable diet, with daily exercise on horseback, restored him to perfect health, and laid the foundation of that vigorous constitution, which, seconded by his own habitual temperance, promised a much longer continuance on earth: for, though in general Nature seems to have performed her perfect work when she has brought a human being to the verge of seventy years, he was still so hale, so active—his mind still so energetic, so awake to all that had ever occupied and pleased it, that those to whom he was endeared had promised themselves many added years of happiness with him; but that God, in whose hands are the issues of death as well as of life, in his inscrutable wisdom decreed otherwise.

Mr. Wolferstan has often been heard to say, that it was during the rides advised by his physician, that he learned

to quit the beaten track, and explore new and untried paths in search of picturesque beauties—a taste to which he was indebted for much of the happiness of his life. The spring, in that period of it when the swollen buds are but half expanded, and the trees, only clothed in part, enable the eye to range over a wide extent of country, was to him the season of delight. He loved to ramble, unfettered by attention to accustomed meals, which were ever a secondary object with him; and, as he expressed himself, would “carol as he went.” Nor was it simply the beauties of nature that at such seasons he explored. In this, as in every thing, the pursuit of truth was still in view. Perhaps no one was ever a more correct topographer; and his map, whether in a near or distant excursion, was always consulted and corrected.

After the recovery of his health, he was entered of Pembroke College, Oxford, which he quitted for chambers in the Temple, and was called to the bar; but soon after succeeding to the estate of his maternal grandfather, whose name he then took, he gave up the profession of the law, and resided wholly at Statfold.

He has been heard to say, that from the accidental purchase of a small edition of Stowe's *Chronicles of a poor man at Orton*, where an old and valued friend, Mr. Perkins, resided, his taste for antiquarian research was first excited. In this, as in every thing that engaged his attention, he rested not till he had made himself, as far as it is possible for the mind so to do, master of his subject; and what he has achieved in this particular branch of study, which may be called the *Science of Truth*, so long as men shall live who find pleasure in the same investigations, will never die. Not wholly absorbed in this his darling pursuit, he sometimes turned to classical literature; and not many, perhaps, have been more familiar with the writers of Greece and Rome. Few could boast a truer taste for the beauties of real poetry, much of which was treasured in his memory without effort, and almost without design. Gray held a high rank in his estimation, especially his exquisite “Elegy,” and, among more recent publications, Graham's “Sabbath” was read with continual and increasing delight. But, above all, that book, his converse with which can now alone avail to himself, or yield consolation to his surviving friends, was never neglected. Of his

deep-rooted and fervent piety no one indeed could doubt, who had ever heard him read, as was his custom, daily prayers in his family. Even the reverence with which he pronounced his short grace, proved that his was a religion of the heart as well as lips. In the strictest sense he obeyed the sublime injunctions of the Prophet:—he “did justly, he loved mercy, he walked humbly with his God.” His hand was as open to relieve, as his heart was to compassionate distress in every form. His pity was extended to animals—to insects—to all that lived, and was capable of feeling. He was indeed, if it be possible, too much alive to pity; for the relation of sufferings which he could not mitigate would prey upon his mind in a degree that induced those anxious for his comfort to withhold from him, as far as was in their power, whatever had a tendency to shock the feelings. Deeply interested in the abolition of the Slave Trade, he gave the subject, as he did every other in which benevolence was concerned, his support in every way. His private charities were numerous and silent: he could not indeed be ostentatious, because he considered that in every good deed he was but performing a common and necessary duty. In his antiquarian researches he discovered a distant relation whom he had known only by name, and supposed to have been ended. She was poor, and old, and childish. He supported the unconscious sufferer while she lived, bestowing every comfort that in her state she could receive, and at her death consigned her to the grave respectably. Two valued old servants, at different periods, resided as members of his family and partakers of every mark of kindness and care, till, at the age of 80, each breathed her last under his roof. Extremely patient of every bodily pain himself, he was never unmoved by that of others, and would watch over the slightest ailment in those he loved, with the tenderest solicitude. Nor was his care confined to them. His poor neighbours had often the best medical advice through his means, and his servants were never more certain of reproof than when they concealed their illness, and neglected to apply for advice. To his domestics he was indeed as a parent, and several have numbered more than 20 years in his service. To those who love to trace the influence of the benign affections on minds of superior endowments, it would have been delightful to watch his countenance while



at play with his little grandchild, or to see how completely he could divest himself of the gravest studies to give her pleasure. As a friend, he was sincere and unchangeable, and once thoroughly known, ever after revered.

The following extracts will show in what estimation he was held by those possessing his friendship; they are part of what was written to his afflicted family during the recent anguish of their loss. The first is from a female friend:

"—— nor am I untouched and unconcerned. In the death of Mr. Wolferstan I have lost an old, a tried, and most valued friend, — the friend of my family — my father's friend! Looking back on our long intimacy, I see it marked only by good offices, kind thoughts, kind actions; by continued partiality and unwavering esteem, — esteem which, from a man of his excellent character, it was a gratification to possess, and an honour to maintain."

"We have personally to deplore the loss of a very kind and obliging neighbour; and the community that of an invaluable member — of an able, upright, and benevolent man; — a man to whom the character, *Justum et tenacem propositi*, was, in an eminent degree, applicable. I scorn to flatter any man (living or dead); but I will say that I never knew the man to whom that appellation belonged, if it did not belong to Mr. Wolferstan."

"—— A coincidence of circumstances added not a little poignancy to your mournful communication; having just taken up, for the first time, a late publication\*, I was in the act of cutting the leaves, and of attending *con amore* to those interesting additions penned with all the wonted accuracy, and sanctioned by the well-known and respected

\* The Rev. Thomas Harwood's Edition of Erdeswick's Survey of Staffordshire, in the Preface to which is this tribute of respect to Mr. Wolferstan, which he lived not to read: "The Copy in the possession of Samuel Pipe Wolferstan, Esq. is probably a transcript from the last draft of Erdeswick himself, and is enriched with numerous elaborate notes by this eminent antiquary, who may be called, in the language of Burton, applied to Erdeswick himself, '*singularis et unice colendus vir literatissimus et ornatissimus.*'"

initials of S. P. W. — Judge, then, of my feelings, on being suddenly and but too well assured, that the pen so long and so anxiously devoted to truth, had already dropped from the writer's hand, and, alas! that my good and worthy friend M. Wolferstan was even then no more!"

Mr. Wolferstan was seized with shiverings at church, during the sacrament on Sunday, May 21; but, in the fear of exciting alarm in those most dear to him, concealed the threatening symptom at the time. In the evening of that day his fatal illness (apparently an inflammatory one, followed by low fever) began; and only 13 days after, on Saturday, June 3. his pure spirit left its earthly abode.

Mr. Wolferstan was son of the Rev. Samuel Pipe and Dorothy, eldest daughter of Stanford Wolferstan, by Sarah, daughter of Sir Edward Littleton, Bart. — He was twice married; first, to Margaret, daughter of Walter Biddulph (by whom he had issue Margaret, wife of Charles Salt, esq.; and Stanley, married to Elizabeth Jervis, daughter of Swynfen Jervis); and secondly, to Elizabeth, daughter of Philip Jervis, who survives him.

A copious pedigree of the family of Wolferstan, characteristic of the minute accuracy of its compiler, may be found in Shaw's History of Staffordshire, Vol. I. p. 416. In the progress of that history, his valuable assistance was frequently given to Mr. Shaw; as it had previously been, in an eminent degree, to Mr. Nichols, whose History of Leicestershire bears many marks of the accurate communications of Mr. Wolferstan.

## Y.

YOUNG, Professor, November 18. At Glasgow, Mr. Professor Young, who was long the ornament of that University. He went to George's Inn, in perfect health, between three and four in the afternoon, to take a warm-bath, and upon the servant entering the room he found him sitting lifeless in the water. On the 21st his remains were deposited in the burial-ground of the College, attended by almost the whole body belonging to the College, along with the principal of the clergy, and numerous friends and admirers. All the classes, along with the Professors, walked in their gowns. His own (*viz.* the Greek) class walked first in order, each of the individuals composing it ex-



hibiting evident marks of grief for the heavy loss they had sustained in the death of their lamented Professor. These were followed by the professors; after whom came the other gown classes. The streets were filled with spectators.

Mr. Professor Young was beloved by all who had the happiness of knowing the kindness of his heart, and the active benevolence of his life. Filling the chair of Greek Professor in the University during 46 years, he, to the last, sus-

tained the reputation which, with some of the most celebrated names in the literary history of his country, he had raised for that eminent seat of learning. The acuteness of his intellect, and the extent of his classical attainments, were universally known to the literary world; while the gaiety of his wit, that "loved to play, not wound," and the liberality of his opinions, endeared him to the affections of all whom his soul at once delighted and instructed.

THE END.

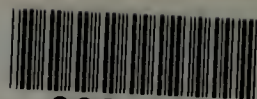












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